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Music and Letters

JULY 1944

Volume XXV

No. 3

H. J. W.: OR, 'TIS FIFTY YEARS SINCE

BY GEORGE SAMPSON

In the matter of "Proms" I am pre-Wood and pre-Queen's Hall; in the matter of Wood I am pre-"Proms" and pre-Queen's Hall. Queen's Hall played no part whatever in my early musical experiences, for the simple reason that it did not exist. St. James's Hall (long vanished), the Crystal Palace (also gone), the Albert Hall (battered but erect), Covent Garden and Drury Lane, together with certain churches—these were the scenes of my first acquaintance with public music. The first Promenade Concerts I attended were given at Covent Garden. I had a friend, a few years older than myself, and we went together. It is a good rule in life to have a friend a few years—say three—older than yourself; for when you are a boy of fifteen, he is a young man of eighteen, and he will know better than you what entertainments are worth going to. And soon you are contemporaries. Without that wise youth I should not have discovered the Promenade Concerts. They varied in quality (like all concerts), but one could begin laying a foundation of the best classical music. So don't imagine that the association of good music and an open floor was first made by Henry J. Wood. I believe the usual conductor was Arditi; but I did not then attach importance to conductors. Composers were my game.

Somebody made a broadcast speech about Sir Henry Wood recently and declared that he was an orchestral conductor, not an operatic conductor. Now it was precisely as an operatic conductor that I first made the acquaintance of Henry J. Wood. The opera was 'Eugene Onegin' by a totally unknown composer named Tchaikovsky; the year was 1893; the theatre was the Olympic. Do not ask me to tell you where the Olympic Theatre was, for I shall become nostalgic and weep. It was in one of the old back streets on the north side of the Strand—part of Johnson's London and Charles Lamb's London—and they swept it all away to make Aldwych, as they swept away the infinite grace of the old Regent Street to make the noble thoroughfare which I am sure you all admire. Hard by were two other theatres, the Globe and the Opera Comique—no accent on the e. You will observe that I spell the name of the opera in English, for it was sung in English by Eugène Oudin, a fine baritone, who had already sung in Sullivan's dreadfully dull opera 'Ivanhoe'; Fanny Moody was Tatiana and Charles Manners was Prince Gremin. I name the last two, for when they were personally as well as musically united they formed the Moody-Manners Opera Company, which gave some operas rarely heard before and never heard

since. The very capable conductor was a slim, black-haired, black-bearded young man named Henry J. Wood, who, one gathered, had been an organist almost from infancy.

I must indulge in a little more history, for the sake of the eminent critics who believe that musical life in London began about 1930. It is apparently a natural law that opera seasons always fail financially. Sometimes they fail artistically, but they always fail financially. The money not taken at the doors is (or was) supplied in some places abroad by the state or court, and in others by the municipality. In England, from the time of Handel to the time of Puccini, it was supplied by subscribers among the nobility and gentry, who, having paid the piper, felt entitled to call the tune, as poor Handel was to discover. In 1887, the Jubilee year of Queen Victoria (who is sometimes mentioned by critics of the arts), a young man named Augustus Harris, manager of Drury Lane Theatre, resolved greatly (with the support of socially and financially important backers) to extricate Grand Opera from the ruins left by Gye and Mapleson at Covent Garden and Her Majesty's, and began his venture with a performance of 'Aida', in which the star was a tenor named Jean de Reszke. Thanks to the new star, the season was a great success, and Harris resolved to reign alone in opera, and to ruin or impede all rivals. For this he was harshly criticized, especially by Bernard Shaw, as a monopolist. But Harris was right and Shaw wrong. Grand Opera, always unsafe financially, would be ruined if rival impresarios drew away subscribers. In 1888 Gus Harris moved to Covent Garden, and in 1889 he was confronted by a rival, the irrepressible Mapleson, who, with a capital of about half a crown, began a season at Her Majesty's, a theatre remembered only by veteran playgoers. Mapleson faded out after about a dozen nights, and was heard of no more.

A much more formidable rival was Signor Lago, who possessed something that Harris possessed in no high degree and that Mapleson possessed in no degree whatever, namely, musical taste. Lago discovered 'Orfeo' and the matchless Giulia Ravogli; Lago discovered 'Cavalleria rusticana'. And the result? Harris bought both attractions over Lago's head and ran them hard and successfully. Then in 1893 the undefeated Lago discovered 'Eugene Onegin' and Henry J. Wood. But, alas, 'Eugene Onegin' failed to attract the public, and Lago's season collapsed. Harris bought neither 'Eugene Onegin' nor Henry J. Wood. Harris's first demand of a Grand Opera was that it should be grand, to match the grandeur of the stalls and boxes. Now 'Eugene Onegin' is not grand. Except for the ball-room scene in Petersburg it is as domestic as a play by Tchekhov. What grandeur can there be in an opera in which the unheroic tenor is ignominiously slain half-way through the piece? Domestic opera could not live in the vast space of Covent Garden. Even Massenet's 'Werther', though perfectly sung by Jean de Reszke and Emma Eames, was a complete failure. Harris had little intelligence outside the well-marked lines of the old theatre. His most ferocious critic was Bernard Shaw, whom he tried hard to silence. He should have bought up the impudent young critic as producer; and he should have bought up young Henry Wood as subsidiary conductor. It would have been a hard life. We know that Wood is a tough fellow, more than a match for any artist with a swelled head. But was he tough enough in the early nineties to face the horde of hard-heads whom Harris collected from the continental opera houses? Some of the world's greatest singers were to be heard at Covent Garden in those days, and some of the world's worst performances to be seen. The productions were, as a rule, utterly bad, the chorus, apparently raked out of the slums of Hatton Garden

and Soho, bawled villainously in any language ; discipline was unknown. There would have been plenty for producer Shaw and chorus-master Wood to do. But would they have been allowed to do it ? The ruthless Melba, with her powerful friends behind the manager, drove the lovely Emma Eames back to America and kept Tetrazzini out of England till her career was nearly over. Imagine Wood or Shaw at cross-purposes with Melba, which would have had to yield ? Moreover there was a strong prejudice against anything English at Covent Garden. Harris's principal conductor was a fairly competent Italian named Mancinelli, assisted by a very incompetent Italian named Bevignani ; but no Englishman ever took the conductor's baton. When Wagner began to come into his own in German, with a shockingly bad performance of the 'Ring' in 1892, there was no less a man than Mahler as conductor, and it became the rule for German operas to be conducted by Germans ; so we had Mottl, Seidl, Richter and others, until, in later days, it was found that the best conductor of the big Wagnerian shows was, after all, an Englishman. But that was long after the time of Harris, who had died in 1896, just before Jean de Reszke had sung in 'Tristan' here.

So Henry Wood did not appear at Covent Garden after the failure of 'Eugene Onegin' ; but the scene of his future triumphs rose like an exhalation, and, quite suddenly, in 1894, we found ourselves in possession of a brand-new concert hall. The standard of its future was set by a great concert at which Nikisch conducted Tchaikovsky's fifth Symphony, then quite new to most of its hearers, and Paderewski played the "Emperor" Concerto. That was a special occasion ; what was to be the general line of Queen's Hall policy ? It began by associating itself with the fight against the fanatics who tried to prevent Sunday concerts by legal action. Has any one written the story of the National Sunday League, the South Place Concerts, the Sunday Philharmonic Union and other attempts to defeat the fanatics ? The new Queen's Hall tried the line of organ recitals—"admission free"—i.e. a few places for standing, with seats from sixpence to two shillings for those willing to pay "in aid of charitable institutions". Here is a summary of the programme for February 10th 1895 : five organ solos, three flute solos, two songs (religious), one recitation (religious). Only one piece was of the first order, Bach's Toccata and Fugue in C major ; and one player, Fransella, was long the leading flautist in orchestral concerts. I forgot to say that at the bottom of the list of artists printed on the front cover of the programme appeared the words "Accompanist, Mr. Henry J. Wood".

A little later in the year it was resolved to try the experiment of a popular promenade concert. Accordingly on Saturday evening, March 23rd 1895, we were regaled with a grand Promenade Concert given by the band of the Coldstream Guards under the direction of Mr. C. Thomas ; there were four vocal soloists, Mme. Clara Samuell, Miss Marian McKenzie, Mr. Ben Davies and Mr. Robert Grice ; there were four instrumentalists, Mr. W. L. Barrett (flute), Mr. E. F. James (bassoon), Mr. F. G. James (cornet), and Mr. Edwin H. Lamare (grand organ). There were twenty-five items, and everything susceptible of an "encore" was duly given one. I forgot to say that, in slightly less prominent type, at the end of the list of artists, appeared the words "Accompanist, Mr. Henry J. Wood". So at the very first Queen's Hall Promenade Concert Mr. Henry J. Wood was not the conductor, but was considered qualified to play the pianoforte accompaniments to 'The Chorister' and 'Come Back to Erin'.

Queen's Hall soon began to supplant St. James's Hall as a place for orchestral music ; and in the summer of 1895 certain Wagnerians

organized a series of concerts marked by the cachet of Bayreuth. Wagner, you must remember, was still highbrow. The first was conducted by Hermann Levi, who introduced us to one who was afterwards to be loved as the greatest of Wagnerian sopranos, Milka Ternina. Other concerts were conducted by Felix Mottl, and one was remarkable for the appearance of Siegfried Wagner, astonishingly like his father; but he incautiously introduced a work of his own, and clearly proved that he could neither compose nor conduct. In these concerts Wood played some subterranean part, and at one concert of a later date is specifically mentioned as "chorus master".

Then, in the autumn of 1895, Robert Newman, manager of the hall, determined to begin a season of promenade concerts, and chose as conductor the hitherto underrated Henry J. Wood. That Wood was the right man appeared from the beginning. He could obviously command an orchestra, and he could lay out an enticing programme, putting major works in the first part and banishing Coldstream Guards stuff to the second. The success of the new venture was beyond doubt, and the next year's series was even more successful. Yet in that year we find Wood back again at operatic work, conducting the run of Stanford's opera 'Shamus O'Brien' at the old Opera Comique, near the scene of his first success.

Probably the greatest influence in the life of Henry Wood was the visit here in 1896 of Lamoureux and his famous orchestra. London had many fine orchestral players, but it had no orchestra. The Philharmonic Orchestra was not an orchestra belonging to and maintained by the Philharmonic Society. The players, however regularly engaged for the Philharmonic Concerts, were individuals with engagements of their own. At any London orchestral concert there was no certainty that the orchestra playing in the evening was the same orchestra that had been rehearsed in the morning, for the players could always send deputies to rehearsals. But the Lamoureux Orchestra was the Lamoureux Orchestra. It was a body of players who rehearsed together and played together under strict discipline. The players formed a single instrument responsive to a single person. You could object to the Lamoureux Orchestra as some, later, objected to Furtwängler's Berlin Orchestra, as over-disciplined and over-mechanized; but you could be sure of accurate playing, of uniform bowing, of minute perfection and of instant response, even if something of the spirit might be lacking. Thus, the Lamoureux Orchestra's playing of 'Le Rouet d'Omphale' was beyond the reach of any scratch body of players unused to long rehearsing for particular effects. Wood resolved that London should have a Lamoureux Orchestra, and he courageously attacked the indifference of players to their obligations and determined to abolish the vicious deputy system. The players, mostly old hands, firmly based on tradition, resisted; but they underrated the determination and tenacity of their conductor, and, after some bad quarters of an hour, many of them seceded and formed a schismatic, self-governing body called the London Symphony Orchestra. But the undaunted Wood gathered a new set of players and built up the body called at first the New Queen's Hall Orchestra. Thus, in the space of a few years, he had formed and trained two orchestras.

So, through the storms and struggles of the years, Henry Wood held firmly to his course, never tiring, but growing from strength to strength, ceasing to emphasize inner parts and gaining greater breadth and range. Probably his only equal in command over all styles and varieties of music is Toscanini. The very existence of Queen's Hall was at one time threatened, but Wood was apparently unperturbed; and punctually

as summer was dying into autumn, he mounted to the conductor's desk to begin his fifth, his twenty-fifth, his forty-fifth season of Promenade Concerts, amid the roaring of affectionate applause from the music-lovers he had created, some of them the children of parents who had first become acquainted on that hospitable floor. The institution of special "nights" was a great inspiration. The young, shy, uncertain music-lover could discover which composer seemed to have a special message for him, and listen until he felt an impulse to try someone else. That is the way to learn. Begin with a passion for one, even if you discard him later. Out of the special love is created the general love. Perhaps you may be born with the power to hear music as a whole, as some are born with a natural technique for playing. Then you are fortunate. Of course the highbrows condemned the whole thing and accused the "Proms" audiences of having no discrimination. Disregard such affectations, which are really disabilities. It is better to love much largely than to enjoy a little delicately. Actually the highbrows have no evidence about discrimination. The happy man applauds because he is happy, not because he wants his applause to be measured as statistics of response.

During the recent birthday celebrations, one of the loftier weekly papers began a paragraph with the words "Sir Henry Wood is not one of the great English conductors". That, of course, was to be expected. But the remark, even if true, had been better left unsaid. A lack of the sense which indicates whether a thing should be said or not also indicates an obtuseness fatal to good criticism. But the remark is not true. Sir Henry Wood is certainly one of the greatest English conductors; and if you ask me to justify that assertion I shall reply briefly, "Fifty years". If he had been a mere "sticker", there would still be some point in the reply; but those who have known him through all that range of time know that every year has brought some new adventure. It is all very well for a younger man with a hatful of money to swagger up to the conductor's desk, with an orchestra ready for him, and then to give a few displays of virtuosity—and disappear. Sir Henry Wood has not a trace of the showman in him. He has held his post with unfailing dignity and has never sought for publicity. He not only plays well, but he plays upon an instrument he has created; and he has done that during fifty years, not by the repetition of a stale repertory, but by constant adventures into the new. There is no form of music to which he has been inhospitable—except the cheap and the nasty. Especially he has been the apostle of Russian music here, giving us a large range of Tchaikovsky, when Tchaikovsky was as new and exciting in the nineties as Byron was in 1812. But the most unimpugnable tribute to Sir Henry Wood's greatness as a conductor is the magnitude of the audience he has drawn together for the best music. I do not forget his Saturday and Sunday concerts and his many other activities; but at this moment it is natural to think chiefly of those amazing and incomputable Promenade Concerts. Come back with me to a dark autumn evening of last year. Six thousand people are groping their way through fog and blackout to the tiresomely inaccessible Albert Hall. They are going to a Beethoven concert in the forty-ninth series of Promenade Concerts. That miracle has been worked by one man, and there is no other man who could have done it. The fifty years of Promenade Concerts have been the greatest artistic achievement of the half-century; and it has been the work of one catholic-minded musician, who has given more chances to new players and composers than any of his contemporaries. "Not one of the great English conductors"? Fudge!

THE NOMENCLATURE OF OPERA—I

BY EDWARD J. DENT

BOTH Mozart and Da Ponte, as is well known, described 'Don Giovanni' as a *dramma giocoso*; and English critics seem still to be under the impression that this description was unique—that no other opera was ever described as *dramma giocoso*, and that these two words have some mysterious significance applicable to 'Don Giovanni' and to no other opera. They seem also to be under the impression that the Italian word *dramma* is to be understood in one or other of the senses which the later nineteenth century applied to the word "drama" in English and "drame" in French—either "melodrama" in its ordinary journalistic usage or domestic tragedy. They are apparently quite unaware that *dramma giocoso* is the normal term for all Italian comic operas of the second half of the eighteenth century, except sometimes at Naples, where they were more generally called *commedia in musica*. Further confusion has arisen among non-Italian writers on music because they are unaware that the Italian word *opera* is hardly ever to be found at all on any Italian title-page, although *opera* was a colloquial word for musical drama at Rome as early as 1644, and it appears quite frequently in Italian critical and theoretical writings. For this reason I attempt here a survey of operatic nomenclature in general. I am not the first in the field: Robert Haas published an outline history of it in a short paper in the 'Festschrift für Hermann Kretzschmar' (Leipzig, 1918), and recently Egon Wellesz has published a short list of operatic categories mainly limited to the Italian dramatic works produced at Vienna in the eighteenth century ('The Music Review', May 1943)¹. The 'Kretzschmar Festschrift' was printed in a very small edition—only 150 copies, I have been told, one of which is in the Hirsch Library at Cambridge (there is none in the British Museum)—so it is not very accessible to English readers.

The first thing which non-Italian musicians and writers have to bear clearly in mind is that the Italian word *opera* is practically never used on the title-page of a musical drama in Italy until well on into the nineteenth century; and it is rare even at the present day. On the other hand, *opera* was used in Italy as a colloquialism for "musical drama" quite early in the seventeenth century, and it occurs commonly in Italian critical writings about opera.

At this point I must ask the reader to understand that throughout this article the word "opera", printed in ordinary roman type, with or without inverted commas, is to be read as an English word signifying musical drama of all types in its ordinary usage. When I print the word *opera* in italics, it is to be taken as the Italian word, in whatever sense an Italian reader might take it; it may also appear in italics as a foreign (Italian) word used by Germans for a foreign thing, although eventually the Germans Teutonized it into the now familiar *Oper*. If I have occasion to use it as a French word, it will be printed in its French form with an acute accent, *opéra*. These distinctions are necessary if confusion is to be avoided.

The Italians who created opera were making a new thing, and therefore they had at first no regular name for it. They printed all their operas from 1597 to the present day as books of words, *libretti*, i.e. little

¹. See also E. Wellesz, 'Die Opern und Oratorien in Wien von 1660 bis 1708'. (Leipzig and Vienna, 1919).

books ; but it will be obvious that the printing of these was at first (and probably always) supervised by the poet rather than by the composer. Hence it is natural for the poet to describe his work, if he describes it at all, as a drama, a tragedy, a comedy or by some other purely literary name, making no distinction between a spoken drama and an opera libretto except by the addition of such words as *recitato in musica* or *rappresentato in musica*. In the very early days of Italian opera the music was generally printed too, probably in very small editions, to be given away as souvenirs by the prince who had paid for the performance, since practically all such early performances were single ones. Occasionally an opera was repeated, and perhaps on the original occasion it might be performed two or three times, but admission to these princely entertainments was by invitation only, and operas were not in those days put on for a run, or with the idea of their going into the normal repertory of a commercial theatre. The titles of these early printed scores (the musical nature of these scores, and how far the printed edition represents the actual instrumentation is a problem entirely outside the scope of this article, which is concerned with titles only) are naturally much the same as those of the librettos. After the opening of commercial opera-houses at Venice Italian opera scores ceased to be printed, no doubt on account of the huge expense involved, as operas became much longer and the full scores more complex after the standardization of the orchestra began. Even down to the present day the number of Italian operas printed in full score is extremely small compared with that of the French and German operas. French operas were printed in full score from the time of Lully onwards, sometimes from type, but in later years from engraved plates ; about the middle of the nineteenth century, when commercial opera was in full swing all over Europe, these scores were jealously guarded by their publishers. They were let out on hire, but as a rule not allowed to be sold. A German publisher and music-seller at Dresden told me in 1900 that only once in his life had he seen a full score of 'Carmen', and the French publishers maintained that this copy had been stolen.² Even now there is the greatest difficulty in obtaining full scores of French operas which are still more or less in the repertory, except on hire at exorbitant rates. A few Italian full scores were printed in the nineteenth century ; collectors and bibliographers will be familiar with the beautifully engraved miniature scores of 'Il barbiere di Siviglia' and 'Guillaume Tell' published by Guidi of Florence about 1861. These are of course quite impracticable for conducting purposes. The situation is not very different in Germany, although the large number of opera-houses and the immense technical skill of German engravers made score-printing a far more practicable proposition in Germany than in France. German full scores before 1800 are exceedingly rare.

The Italian manuscript score of an opera, from the days of Cavalli onwards, is of no value whatever as a guide to its dramatic category. A great many lost their title-pages centuries ago, if they ever had any, and the result is that in many libraries Italian opera scores, bearing no composer's name at all, have been catalogued by error under the name of the first character who happens to appear on the stage—often a very subordinate one. Existing title-pages, even when in the composer's autograph, rarely if ever mention the category ; the most we may expect to find is the title of the particular work, the composer's name and perhaps the place and date of its first performance. As regards Italian printed librettos, it is probably necessary to remind readers that during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries it is quite usual

² 'Carmen' was later published in full score in the Peters edition.

for the composer's name not to be mentioned at all, though the names of the performers, the dancers, the ballet-master and the scene-painter might all find a place there.

Before going into minuter detail it may be well to give the reader a general outline of the main categories recognized in Italy. In the earliest stages, when opera was a complete novelty, no specific name had been found for the entertainment, and the first of all operas was printed in 1600 (performed 1597) as

La Dafne d'Ottavio Rinuccini rappresentata alla Sereniss. Gran Duchessa di Toscana dal Signor Jacopo Corsi.

Rinuccini was the poet, Corsi the composer. In almost contemporary writings this opera is spoken of as *la favola di Dafne*; *favola* must here be taken as meaning "story" or "legend", and for all this early period *favola* comes to be the favourite word—we may regard it as a category-title. This is the period of princely opera at Mantua and elsewhere, composed and produced for one occasion only, such as the wedding of a grand duke. Commercial opera begins at Venice in 1637, and from that time onwards the favourite category-title is *dramma per musica*. I imagine I need not give readers of this review any description of what a Venetian commercial opera in the seventeenth century was like. What we have to remember is that during this period opera in Italy became more and more systematically commercial, and less and less 'dynastic'. The small courts probably became impoverished and could no longer afford to spend large sums on single opera performances; also, if opera was already available to anyone who could pay for admission, it must have lost a certain amount of its importance for princes who wished to perform something that was uniquely exclusive. On the other hand, opera was gradually becoming known north of the Alps; it established itself firmly at the court of Louis XIV, and various German sovereigns and princelings took it upon themselves to imitate the *Roi Soleil* by having operas performed on the most sumptuous scale to celebrate their own various domestic events. This is the great period of "dynastic" opera, that is, opera designed definitely for the glorification of the reigning prince and performed for some such single event as a marriage or the birth of an heir. As one would naturally expect, the chief centre for such entertainments was Vienna in the days of the music-loving Emperor Charles VI, and the cultivation of dynastic opera was continued by his equally musical daughter and successor Maria Theresa. It was at her court that we now come across a number of minor categories of opera such as *festa teatrale*, *azione teatrale*, &c., all as a rule signifying something special and unique, composed for one occasion only. But as the imperial dynasty gradually lost its own importance, so its operatic manifestations diminished, and we may regard Mozart's 'La clemenza di Tito' as the last opera of that type.

Venetian commercial opera had from the first introduced the comic element along with the heroic, and perhaps for that reason some of these operas are designated as *tragicommedia*. The Italian literary drama had always preserved the distinction of drama into the three classical categories, tragedy, comedy and pastoral, the last being the modern equivalent of the ancient Greek satyric drama. Students of operatic history or of Italian drama will doubtless be familiar with the three conventional scenes designed for these categories by Sebastiano Serlio in 1545 (English translation of his book, 1611), and operatic librettists were certainly influenced by this antique tradition. Among the early works of Alessandro Scarlatti we find librettos in the grand heroic manner, others—derived generally from Spanish sources—that are distinctly

comedies, and also a curious type sometimes called *favola boschereccia*, pastoral and quasi-satyrical (not satiric—satire in opera belongs to a much later period).

Comic opera goes back quite a long way in the seventeenth century, but examples are isolated, and the “main stream” of comic opera, as Tovey might have called it, does really begin where the historians have placed it, at Naples in the first years of the eighteenth century. This type of comic opera is called *commedia in musica*; as the words of it are mainly in Neapolitan dialect, the poets amused themselves by printing the title-pages in dialect too and called their librettos *cummedeja pe' museca*. Comic opera spread from Naples to Bologna and from Bologna to Venice; some time about the middle of the century it takes the conventional name of *dramma giocoso*. After the reforms of Apostolo Zeno and Metastasio, who cleared the comic characters out of serious opera altogether, opera, called in Italian *dramma per musica*, had to be classed under two main heads, *dramma serio per musica* and *dramma giocoso per musica*. In actual practice the serious type was generally called *dramma per musica*, as before, and the comic type somehow became universally known simply as *dramma giocoso*.

Another word for opera in Italian was *melodramma*, which emerges mainly towards the end of the eighteenth century. *Melodramma* in Italian means simply what we call opera, and nothing else; it does not mean either *Melodram* (German), i.e. spoken declamation through a musical accompaniment, or *mélodrame* (French) with its modern English equivalent “melodrama”, so called because it was a romantic play with a good deal of incidental music—not really an opera at all. *Melodramma* is still a right and proper Italian word for opera, and our English adjective “melodramatic” owes its origin and its sense merely to the fact that the French and English melodramas of the early nineteenth century were indeed influenced by opera; in many ways they were like operatic librettos deprived of their music, or at least of a good deal of it.

Round about 1800—the date is convenient to remember, if not absolutely accurate, as 1600 is for the first beginnings of opera, and 1700 for the splitting of opera into the two categories of serious and comic—we see the emergence of what critics called *opera semiseria*. What the title-pages called *dramma giocoso* was nothing more or less than what ordinary people in ordinary conversation called *opera buffa*. Among the musicians Paer and Bellini are the most famous exponents of *melodramma semiserio*; it is the Italian form of romantic opera, and it is bred out of comic opera, the gradual sentimentalization of comic opera which has taken place over and over again at various periods and in various countries. To quote examples familiar to any English reader, compare ‘The Sorcerer’, which is entirely comic, with ‘The Yeomen of the Guard’, which although composed in musically the same sort of style is definitely sentimental in dramatic outlook. As I have said elsewhere, what the public has always wanted was to hear the greatest singers in the most trivial tunes; *opera semiseria* came into being partly, no doubt, under the general influence of *comédie larmoyante*, but largely, we may be sure because the public wanted to hear the singers of “grand opera” in music of a more popular character, just as the Victorians wanted to hear the greatest operatic singers in such trivialities as ‘Martha’.

In the nineteenth century various other titles appear, due mainly to French influences on Italian opera; thus the French conventional *tragédie lyrique*, dating from the days of Lully, becomes *tragedia lirica*. It is always a moot point with a commercial composer and his librettist whether their joint work shall conform to a familiar title that everyone

knows and feels safe with, or whether it shall suggest something daringly original while really carrying on all the old conventions—"the old-established house under entirely new management".

The operatic categories in the four main countries, Italy, France, Germany and England, will now be considered more in detail.

ITALY

In the first half-century of opera it is worth while noting as many examples as we can find :

1597 'La Dafne' (Rinuccini: Peri and ? Corsi). Florence. No descriptive subtitle; various contemporary documents call it *La favola di Dafne*. The Florentine 'Storia d'Etichetta' mentions a *pastorella in musica* which might be 'Dafne'.

1600 'L'Euridice' (Rinuccini: Peri), Florence.

1602 'L'Euridice composta in musica in stile rappresentativo' (Caccini). No libretto published separately.

1606 'Eumelio, dramma pastorale' (Agazzari). No libretto published.

1607 'La favola d'Orfeo rappresentata in musica' (Monteverdi).

1608 'L'Arianna, Tragedia rappresentata in musica' (Monteverdi).

1610 'Andromeda, tragedia da recitarsi in musica' (Giacobbi).

1616 'Il pianto d'Orfeo' (Belli), five *intermezzi* sung between the acts of Tasso's 'Aminta'; text reprinted in Chiabrera's 'Favolette da rappresentarsi cantando'.

1616 'Strali d'Amore, favola recitata in musica per Intermedij' (Boschetti), five *intermezzi*.

1619 'La morte d'Orfeo, tragicomedia pastorale' (Landi).

1620 'L'Arethusa, favola in musica' (Vitali).

1623 'Il Medoro rappresentato in musica' (Gagliano and Peri).

1625 'La liberazione di Ruggiero, balletto rappresentato in musica' (Fr. Caccini).

1626 'La catena d'Adone, favola boschereccia' (Mazzocchi).

1628 'Le api riverite, azione drammatica' (composed for a reception to Cardinal Barberini, but not performed).

1629 'Diana schernita, favola boscareccia' (Cornacchioli).

1632 'Il Sant' Alessio, dramma musicale' (Landi). First appearance of the title *dramma*.

1633 'Erminia sul Giordano, dramma musicale' (M. A. Rossi).

1637 'L'Andromeda, rappresentata in musica' (Manelli). The first public opera at Venice.

1639 'La Galatea, dramma posto in musica' (Vittori). Use of title *dramma* at Rome also.

1639 'La Delia, poema drammatico' (Sacrafi—Venice).

1639 'Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo, opera scenica' (Cavalli—Venice). Also called *festa teatrale posta in musica*. The word *opera* here clearly signifies nothing more than "work".

1639 'Chi soffre speri, commedia musicale' (Mazzocchi—Rome). The first comic opera.

1641 'La Didone, opera rappresentata in musica' (Cavalli). Rare use of the word *opera*.

1642 'L'incoronazione di Poppea, opera musicale' (Monteverdi).

1644 'L'Ulisse errante' (Sacrafi—Venice), called in the libretto *opera musicale*.

1644 'Ercole in Lidia, dramma' (Rovetta—Venice).

Evelyn's Diary (November 17th 1644), in the course of a description of St. Peter's at Rome, mentions Bernini,

a Florentine sculptor, architect, painter and poet, who, a little before my coming to the City, gave a public Opera (for so they call shews of that kind) wherein he painted the scenes, cut the statues, invented the engines, compos'd the musiq, writ the comedy, and built the theatre.

There seems to be no trace left of this opera; Bernini's achievement surpassed even that of Richard Wagner and was approached only by the private entertainments of Hubert von Herkomer. But this note of Evelyn's is important, for it is the first appearance of the word "opera" in English, and it also shows that *opera* in Italy had already at that date become the colloquial name for musical drama.

On April 11th 1645 he mentions an entertainment "at Prince Gallicano's who himself composed the musiq to a magnificent opera". Loewenberg dates this performance May 3rd, but he must have misunderstood Evelyn's chronology; it is clear from the Diary that Evelyn saw the opera on Easter Tuesday, which in that year fell on April 8th. The opera, which was not by Prince Gallicano but by O. Castelli and G. P. Colonna, had been produced first at Rome on January 5th 1645.

The word "opera" comes once more into the Diary at Venice, one night in Ascension week; Ascension Day fell on May 15th that year. There was a revival of Rovetta's Carnival opera 'Ercole in Lidia'.

This night, having with my Lord Bruce taken our places befor, we went to the Opera where comedies and other plays are represented in recitative musiq by the most excellent musicians, vocal and instrumental, with variety of scenes painted and contrived with no less art of perspective, and machines for flying in the aire, and other wonderfull motions; taken together it is one of the most magnificent and expensive diversions the wit of man can invent. The history was, Hercules in Lydia; the scenes changed thirteenth times.

From this date onwards *dramma per musica*, or *dramma musicale*, becomes the regular name for opera in Italy, and such titles as *favola drammatica*, *tragicommedia*, *festa teatrale*, are exceptional and rare. But by this time we have to note titles of operas performed in Italian outside Italy. Thus in 1663 Draghi's 'Achille in Sciro' (Vienna) is described as *azione drammatica*; it was announced as an amateur performance, but cancelled. Cesti's two operas for Vienna in 1667, 'Il pomo d'oro' and 'Le disgrazie d'amore' are called respectively *festa teatrale* and *dramma giocoso-morale*. Other examples of exceptional titles are :

- 1680 'La patienza di Socrate con due moglie, scherzo drammatico per musica' (Draghi—Prague).
- 1681 'Nicandro e Fileno, poemetto drammatico per musica' (Lorenzani—Fontainebleau).
- 1682 'La chimera, drama fantastico-musicale' (Draghi—Vienna).
- 1697 'Il Narciso, pastorale per musica' (Pistocchi—Ansbach).

It should be noted that all these exceptional titles refer to operas performed outside Italy. Wellesz gives a list of no less than sixty-five different titles for musical dramas performed at Vienna during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and notes that certain names, such as *tragicomedia* became fashionable for short periods only. He is wrong, however, in suggesting that *dramma giocoso* was one of these. Many of the rarer titles denote "dynastic" entertainments for some special court occasion, and some of them were amateur performances by archduchesses and their friends. Such was Gluck's 'La corona, azione teatrale', written to be acted by four archduchesses in honour of their imperial father's name-day, but cancelled owing to his death. They had already celebrated their brother Joseph's marriage with another *azione teatrale*, 'Il parnaso confuso' (also by Gluck) in January 1765. The *dramma eroicomico*, one of the short-lived fashions, was invented by that most original and accomplished librettist the Abate G. B. Casti; the typical example is his 'Re Teodoro in Venezia' (Vienna, 1784, music by Paisiello), the point of which is the placing of a historic hero in a ridiculous light. Wellesz quotes Gazzaniga's 'Il calandrano' (Vienna, 1771) as an example of *dramma giocoso*, and possibly this may be the first appearance of that title at Vienna, although it was certainly not the first Italian comic opera performed there.

The earliest example of *dramma giocoso* that I have been able to trace is 'La libertà nociva, drama giocoso per musica', by Rinaldo di Capua, performed at Venice in 1744. In the same year the same company acted two more *drammi giocosi* at the same theatre (San Cassiano), 'Madama

'Ciana' by Latilla and 'L'ambizione delusa' by Rinaldo di Capua. This last was new; but 'La libertà nociva' had been produced at Rome in 1740—under what category-title I do not know. These last-named operas were by no means the first comic operas that had been produced at Venice. During the first half of the century the great majority of operas produced there were serious works of the *dramma per musica* type; but a few were called *tragicommedia*. This name is characteristic of the librettos of Count Frigimelica Roberti, who wrote two for Alessandro Scarlatti in 1707. Both of these are called *tragedia*. Roberti seems to have preferred librettos in five acts, influenced no doubt by Racine, but in this he was quite exceptional. The title *tragicommedia* seems to mean that the opera included comic characters. If the opera did not include comic characters in itself, comic *intermezzi* were almost invariably given at Venice.

Scherzo comico pastorale describes an opera by Gasparini and Lotti, 'La ninfa Apollo', words by Francesco de Lemene, acted on the last night of Carnival in 1799, and other operas of the same sort were acted on last nights of Carnival in later years.

We find *commedia per musica* at Venice in 1711—'Elisa', words by Domenico Lalli, music by Giovanni Maria Ruggeri. According to Allacci this was the first real musical comedy produced at Venice. Sonneck's catalogue says that the author expounded his theories of musical comedy in a preface; unfortunately Sonneck gives no quotations. Ruggeri was a Venetian, so that we can be sure that this was not an importation from Naples. Comic opera does not seem to have been popular for some time at Venice; examples of *dramma comico per musica* are rare during the first half of the century. But Buini makes his appearance now and then with a *divertimento comico* (two in 1732), and in 1735 we come across 'Ottaviano trionfante, melolepido drama musicale in unduterzo', performed, like various others of its kind, by actors, not real singers. In the 1740s comic opera becomes more frequent, under such names as *opera bernesca*, *commedia per musica*, *divertimento giocoso*, but from 1745 onwards it is clear that *dramma giocoso* became generally accepted as the standard description. Zatta's edition of Goldoni's complete works classifies all his comic opera librettos in ten volumes of *drammi giocosi*, although the first few of his actual librettos appeared as *dramma comico* or *dramma bernesco per musica*.

In 1763 we meet with a *dramma serio-giocoso*, 'La morte di Dimone', music by Antonio Tozzi, libretto by Giovanni Bertati. This was a quite exceptional type of opera, planned by J. J. Kurtz, known as Kurtz-Bernardon, who had been a famous comic actor in Vienna before he took on the management of the San Cassiano theatre in Venice. He evidently wished to show off all his company at once, and therefore sketched a scenario something like an old imperial dynastic opera, with gods and goddesses to rule the destinies of Cretans and Thessalians. Bertati's function was to turn it into Italian verse.

A new type appears at Venice in 1770, the *farsa giocosa*, described as a play in prose, represented by actors, presumably in spoken dialogue, not in recitative, and interspersed with songs. This definition is quoted by Wiel from a manuscript catalogue in the Biblioteca Marciana. There were several operas of this type, but we may class it among the short-lived fashions, at any rate as far as Italy was concerned, although prose plays with songs lasted for far longer periods in England, France and Germany. By the time we reach the last quarter of the century almost all the operas produced at Venice are *drammi giocosi*; serious opera becomes as rare as comic opera was sixty or seventy years before. And

about this time we notice that comic operas are generally in two acts, not three, as before, in order to give more time to the dramatic ballets now coming into fashion. The ballets seem to become more and more serious in character ; but sometimes there was no ballet, and the comic opera was preceded by a spoken play. The name *opera buffa* must have been a common colloquialism for many years, but it does not appear on a printed libretto title until 1779—‘ *Il Francese bizzarro* ’ by Astaritta.

Something like a revolution must have taken place under the disarming title of *dramma serio per musica* at the Teatro San Benedetto in 1785 with ‘ *Il disertore* ’, words by Bartolomeo Benincasa, music by Francesco Bianchi. Wiel quotes the author’s entire preface. He had had enough of the Metastasian type of opera and also of the foolishnesses of *opera buffa* ; he now presents Venice with an adaptation of ‘ *Le Déserteur* ’, the famous French comic opera by Sedaine and Monsigny, first produced in Paris in 1769. ‘ *Le Déserteur* ’ was one of the famous operas which have gone all over the musical world ; and Sedaine pointed out in the preface that for those who saw it for the first time the excitement of the story would sustain the interest of the music, while for those who had seen the opera before and knew what was coming the charm of the music would make up for the loss of excitement about the drama.

But it was a long time before Venice would accept anything like romantic opera. If romance came into the theatre at all, it was by way of the ballets, the titles of which show that they were derived generally from French sources. In 1792 Sebastiano Nasolini made an opera, described as “ *Drama del signor Beaumarcais [sic] ridotto a prosa e musica* ” out of ‘ *Eugénie* ’. In that same year there also appeared ‘ *Il convitato di pietra* ’ (i.e. a *Don Juan* opera), *farsa in un atto*, the music a pasticcio from various celebrated masters, author of words not named ; but Wiel says that it was a different libretto from that set by Callegari in 1777, nor was it Bertati’s libretto set in 1787, also as a pasticcio. And sentimental opera of the new type was represented in that year also by Paisiello’s ‘ *Nina pazza per amore, commedia in prosa ed in verso per musica, tradotto dal francese* ’. (Dalayrac’s original ‘ *Nina* ’ came out at Paris in 1786 and Paisiello’s at Caserta in 1789.) In 1798 there appeared ‘ *La madre virtuosa, operetta di sentimento per musica in un atto* ’ (Marco Portogallo) and in 1799 a *drama di sentimento*, ‘ *Adelaide di Guesclino* ’ (Simone Mayr) ; but as far as Venice was concerned the century ended with the complete triumph of the *dramma giocoso* and the *farsa giocosa per musica*.

At Naples, comic operas had been called *commedia* from the first, with occasional grotesque titles such as *mnenzione musajeca, commesechiamma* (Logroscino, 1745)—this last exactly paralleled by John Gay’s ‘ *The What d’ye call it?* ’ of 1715—*chellela* (meaning much the same thing) and *favola sarvatica* (sc. *selvatica*). The theatre for musical comedy was the Fiorentini, which gave practically nothing else throughout the century ; and the title *dramma giocoso*, standardized at Venice, does not appear at Naples until Cimarosa’s ‘ *Il marito disperato* ’ of 1785. *Farsa* is an equally rare title at Naples. Naples, as one might expect, was conservative in nomenclature. If Florimo’s lists are safe guides, the title *opera semi-seria* did not appear there until 1845 ; but from the names of the works staged at various Neapolitan theatres it is clear that Naples gradually began to see something of the romantic operas influenced by French librettos, and the title *melodramma* emerges as the usual name for such operas as Rossini’s ‘ *Torvaldo e Dorliska* ’ (Rome, 1816 ; Naples, 1818). The chief librettists for *melodramma* were A. Leone Tottola and Felice Romani. ‘ *Torvaldo e Dorliska* ’ was written by Sterbini, the author of ‘ *Il barbiere*

di Siviglia', and it is taken straight from the libretto of Cherubini's 'Lodoiska' (Paris, 1791).

Simone Mayr and Ferdinando Paer are undoubtedly the two composers to whom we owe the type of *opera semi-seria*, but without access to a complete collection of the librettos one cannot be quite sure when that title was first employed. Schering's study of Mayr is most illuminating as regards the music, but he seems to have been careless in the strict reproduction of libretto titles. As far as I can make out the first appearance of the epithet *semi-seria* among Mayr's operas is in the libretto of 'Le due duchesse', words by Romani, produced at Milan (Teatro alla Scala, November 7th 1814).

A score of Paer's 'Camilla' in the library of the Istituto Musicale at Florence is described as *dramma serio-gioco*, composed for Vienna in 1798. The first libretto of his 'Agnese di Fitzhenry', for a private performance near Parma, 1809, calls it *dramma semiserio*, and a Parma libretto of 1811 gives it the same title. The first libretto of 'Torvaldo e Dorliska' (Rome, 1816) is also called *dramma semi-serio*. From these dates onwards the *semi-serio* type becomes fairly common; but sometimes the same story, if not the same libretto appears under different titles. Méhul's 'Euphrosine' (Paris, 1790) was taken over by various Italian librettists and composers; a version by Sografi and Morlacchi (Milan, 1811) was called *dramma semi-serio*, but the version by Ferretti and Rossini (Florence, 1822) was a *melodramma giocoso* and that of Gaetano Rossi and Stefano Pavesi (Pisa, 1813) an *opera buffa*—a rare example, by the way, of *opera buffa* as a category-title at all.

In the 1830s we often find *tragedia lirica*; this use of the word *lirica* seems to come from the French *tragédie lyrique*, and it is only in the nineteenth century that *lirico* has come to be synonymous with "operatic".

The Dictionary of the Crusca does not admit either *opera* or *melodramma* in the sense of musical drama. Tommaso (1929) gives *melodramma* as meaning "rappresentazione con musica e canto ossia dramma in musica". The 'Enciclopedia italiana' describes musical drama under the heading *opera*, frankly accepting the current usage of to-day.

For the last hundred years there has been no regular system of terminology in Italy, but on the whole the word *opera* is comparatively rare on title-pages; the more usual terms are still *dramma*, *melodramma* and *tragedia* or *commedia lirica*.

In a subsequent paper I shall deal with operatic nomenclature in France, Germany and England.

THE SPANISH DRAMATISTS AND THEIR USE OF MUSIC

BY ANN LIVERMORE

A CENTURY ago George Borrow warned the intending traveller that he would find in Spain only that which was already within himself; but he was in a pessimistic mood when he wrote this. In one of his more genial moments he said that Spain has something to give to everybody from the prodigal exuberance of her vitality. It is certainly true of the Spanish theatre. The archaeologist and antiquarian can turn over the stones of the ancient theatre of the Greek colony at Sagunto or the remains of Roman pomp at Mérida and elsewhere. The classical scholar can pore over the pages of Seneca and decide whether the Cordovan tragedist

fused the mystery of the Greek spirit with the tradition of Rome. The historian, the mystic, the moralist and the hedonist, all these may find absorbing interest in the Spanish theatre. The musician, too, partaking as he may of all these, but separate also, finds here a rich country of experience, for music has always played an indispensable part on the Spanish stage.

Música y poesía
En una misma lira tocaremos.
(Music and poetry—
These we play on the same lyre.)

wrote Iriarte, the eighteenth-century poet, and subsequent commentators have confirmed this. In fact, a reader of English, French or Italian plays soon realizes that, in comparison with these, Spanish plays show a general and persistent tradition of musical collaboration. "The natural promptitude"—of the Spanish people—"is accustomed to a rapid action", Iriarte says; one may add that its natural impatience also requires constant change of mood in any entertainment which is to hold its attention. Spanish dramatists have always shown a care to comply with public taste and to recognize the critical attitude of the national character, "terca, porfiada, feroz, fiera, arrogante, pertinaz, indomable y atrevida", which makes a Spanish audience a formidable antagonist when it has ceased to be a friendly collaborator. These people seem always to have had a passion for music in the theatre, and their servants, the playwrights, have drawn music into the very threads of their material, using it in many ways, to intensify, to provide emotional release, to heighten a realistic scene and to deepen a mysterious moment. But as though this were not enough to satiate public demand, the performances have always been copiously saturated with vocal and instrumental prologues, musical intermezzi with dances, epilogues and final ensembles.

The Spanish theatre, like Spanish music, was composed of a rich complexity of elements. These fell into three main streams. First, the tradition of the church ritual and liturgy from which the early drama derived an impetus; second, the expression of the secular life of Christian Spain; and third, the influences of Moslem and Mozarabic civilization in Andalusia. To the theatre the church gave the form and much of the spirit, the *trovares* and their mouthpieces the *cantaderas* added both style and subject-matter, while the Moslems contributed rhythm and decoration. The same is mainly true of the music also, but as in music the Moslem influence was not confronted with the barrier of language it was able more strongly to permeate the Christian music with its rhythms and to colour it very richly with its accompanying instruments. These three elements produced the mould in which the "individualidad rebelde" of Spanish genius found its greatest outlet.

It was not an accident that the father of the Spanish theatre, Juan del Encina (1469-1529), was poet and musician in equal parts, nor that, like many of his great descendants, he took holy orders. The merging of peoples in the Peninsula required urgent measures to control and unite them; to spiritualize its flock, the church had to secularize its service, to dramatize its mystery. It is undisputed that Encina and his greater contemporary in Portugal, Gil Vicente, perfected the popular verse of their time; and since Barbieri found the 'Cancionero del Palacio', it has become clear that Encina did as much for popular music. There are at least seventy examples of his music in this song-book¹. In his plays, or eclogues as he calls them, the *villancico* plays a definite part, drawing the scene to a canonical close in three or four parts and providing a musical

¹ Incidentally, as many as four-fifths of the examples in this song-book are claimed by Ribera as having Arabic rhythms.

setting for the final tableau of adoration or contemplation, a primitive painting come to life in sound. It is difficult to accept the opinion of some writers that these *villancicos* were entirely vocal. The internal evidence of the texts themselves suggests that instruments were played. For examples :

Allí viene Juan Rabé !
Muy bien estaría a nos
cantásemos dos por dos.

(The *rabé* was a Moorish instrument; it was a general custom for musicians to take the name of their instrument, unless they were of a facetious type, in which case they would often take upon themselves some humorous nickname which would serve to fix their personalities in the minds of their auditors.)

Compañero,
Queréis que os traya un gaitero
Que nos faga fuertes sones ?
Corre, vé a traello, Pascual,
No te pares, vé saltando . . .
. . . Dale priesa é traelo presto
Que quedamos ya cantando.
El gaitero, soncas, viene. . . &c.

Encina understands the necessity for rules of dramatic propriety too well to arouse expectation unless he intends to fulfil it—Cervantes used the same device to assure the audience that music would be forthcoming when the appropriate point was reached. Thus to heighten expectancy is one of the oldest of a playwright's tricks, because it is a sure one. Although few details are known of Encina's life, it would not be rash to conclude from the bare outline that, like his successors, he found a dramatic zest in it. Whilst he sometimes played the clown in his own pieces, he was adroit enough to prescribe a change of scene in his own life when the problems of his affairs, amorous or careerist, seemed otherwise insoluble, and he used the Pope's favour as a final trump card—the *deus ex machina*—in the last act of his own comedy. So much, and more, may be inferred from the bare recital of dates and journeys in his life. His rival, Lucas Fernández, can claim to be the originator of the first *dialogo para cantar* (1514) to be sung from beginning to end—the music of this is also to be found in the 'Cancionero del Palacio' (see 'Quién te hizo, Juan pastor?'); but that a claim for this to be the first Spanish opera should be based on such a rudimentary and repetitive production implies a very elementary notion of the operatic form in the minds of those writers who repeat it. I should like to mention here the name of Escobar, another dramatist-musician, because the quality of his music is such that even now it glows with a sober richness characteristic of the best art of his time. Torres Naharro (d. after 1530), whose views on his craft were so acute that his influence on the direction of Spanish drama was decisive, further developed the part of music in his plays, though he leaned more towards its usefulness in the matter of entertainment. In his 'Comedia Himenea' *Cantores* are listed after the seven characters, which implies at least an improved status for the musicians. One scene is entirely concerned with discussing the making of music, and there is a formal serenade. Himeneo impatiently bids the musicians to cease tuning—this phrase becomes very familiar to the reader of Spanish plays—and when the first singer asks what they shall begin with, he says: "The song first—and the *villancico* afterwards", the song being a solo, whilst the *villancico* was, of course, in parts. The text of the subsequent songs is given in full: first a solo by the first singer, then a duet, then the second sings alone, then there is another duet, and so on.

As this rondo style might well go on indefinitely, Himeneo brings it to an end by remarking : " No more, now, gentlemen ; little and good is what pleases. The rest we will leave for another day ". Alongside this secular use of music, the liturgical tradition still maintained its place in sacred and profane *égglogas* and *comedias* alike. There are explicit musical directions for the Sybil in the ' Auto de la Pasión ' to chant " en alta voz, medio cantando en un tono igual " and for San Juan " cantando como apregona—sin que lo vean ". The organ is indicated as the accompanying instrument to some of Lucas Fernández's *villancicos*.

It was Pedro Navarro who in the words of Cervantes " sacó la música, que antes se cantaba detrás de la manta, al teatro público ".² And here it seems proper to mention some of the instruments in use at that time. First it must be stressed that the guitar, that jack of all trades, seems never to have lost its place in spite of the jostling crowds of wind, string and percussion rivals. But there seems to be a singular aptitude for the theatre in the guitar, which, now as then, in the hands of an adroit player is capable of expressing the most infamous obscenity of sound as well as the noblest aspiration that ever trembled on the air. Shelley said " the guitar talks according to the wit of its companion ". For the *cuatros de empezar*, brief introductory compositions in four parts, harps, *laudes*, *vihuelas* were commonly added to the part-songs ; the poorest theatrical company would at least open the programme with a singer of *romances* accompanied by a guitarist. The interludes, usually dances and songs, demanded the fullest instrumental strength that could be mustered, as of course did the final *despedida*. Moratín in his ' *Orígenes del Teatro español* ' gives the names of more than forty instruments in early use ; but comparison with the poetic description of instruments by the archpriest Hita shows that Moratín merely reduced these to alphabetical order as follows :

arpa, atambor, ajabeba, albogue, albogén, adedura, añafil, albardana, adufe, atabal, bihuella, bihuella de péndola, bihuella de arce, baldosa, caño entero, chirimía, caramillo, cítola, dulcema, guitarra, guitarra morisca, guitarra latina, giga, galipe francés, laud, mandurria, medio caño, ministril, odrecillo francés, orabín, órgano, pandero, pandere, rabé, rabé morisco, rota, salterio, sinfonía, sonajas, tamborete, trompa, zampoña.³

This does not exhaust the number of instruments : very early in the plays we find mention of *tiorbas*, *trompetas*, flutes and so on. There is an extraordinarily rich abundance of pictorial evidence in the stone and wood carvings to be found all over Spain and in the illuminated manuscripts of many libraries are to be seen not only exact pictures of the instruments but vivid portraits of famous musicians in the act of performance.

Perhaps not unnaturally, it is Cervantes (1547-1616) who first characterizes the musicians themselves, since he has never been surpassed in the delineation of the human qualities of the Spanish race. With him the theatre leaves behind the character of anonymity which lingered in the " precursors ", whose work is stamped with the influence of the century rather than wrought into singular shape by the individual artist. But besides humanizing the musicians, Cervantes tried to draw the extraneous music of the theatre into the framework of the comedy itself. A character in one scene asks " Hay loa ? " and gets the emphatic answer, " De ningún modo ! ", which suggests an impatience for the artifice which drew music—and the audience—away

². " He brought forth the music, which until then used to be sung behind the curtain, into the public theatre."

³. Descriptions of most of these instruments are to be found in Covarrubias, ' *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana* '

from the business of the actual comedy instead of into it. Whole scenes are given over to music as though his width of experience was always seeking a larger and more liberal mould in which to express itself than the concise form of the play allows. Intrigue and bustle meant little to him ; it was atmosphere and intimacy he wished to develop. For this, music was an admirable medium and always to the taste of the audience. The jests alone show how well he knew the ways and trials of the poor musician of the day ; indeed, out of the very straits to which poverty reduces men he was able to transform mummers into human beings. Whatever the faults to be found with his slow-moving, excursive style in the theatre—faults which proved the virtues of his novels—his characters throb unmistakably with his own warm sympathy for human nature. In the 'Rufián Viudo' the musicians enter without guitars and are promptly asked why. They reply that the instruments are still in the barber's shop. The barber, always a good fellow in Cervantes's scenes, and willing to glee upon occasion, soon brings the guitars and the players perform "de improviso . . . and commence to sing this *romance*, after which they play the *gallarda* and after this dance having made a *mudanza*, they proceed with the *romance* . . . after which they play the *canario*". In spite of the interpretation of some writers that the word *mudanza* (change) applies merely to a direction to the dancers, I think it must surely have also directed the musicians to make a bridge passage of instrumental modulation, such as guitar players still make to-day when moving from one song to another. Sometimes Cervantes gives the texts of songs in full, his own inventions ; sometimes, more rarely, he leaves the musicians to fill in an appropriate ditty, or he indicates by an allusion some popular air which accords with the text. For instance, he says at one place : "Canten lo que quisieren" ("Let them sing what they will"). Contrasted with these words is a subsequent wedding scene : "Con música y hachas encendidas, guitarras y voces y grande regozijo cantando los cantares que yo diré" ("With music and torches aflame, guitars and voices and great rejoicing, singing the songs I shall say"). There are musicians with guitars in the 'Rufián Dichoso', and at the end of the play an apotheosis with music—"a glory", he says, adding : "or at least, an angel". Poor Cervantes ! He well knew the limitations of the struggling performers' resources ! He has other similar stage directions ; enter so and so, eating a *membrillo*, or what appears to be so ; or, enter so and so, wearing a gold chain, or what appears to be one. Music was cheap and guitars two a penny on hire at the barber's shop ; and so music comes to his aid to provide the illusion and atmosphere which the property box with its lack of material splendour cannot lend.

On more formal occasions Cervantes orders the use of *chirimías* and *flautas*, usually *flautas tristes* . . . the wind instruments he seemed to like to hear "lexos"—in the distance—but this again may have been a matter of theatrical expediency, lack of costume, for instance. In 'Pedro de Urdemalas' "suena dentro todo género de música, y su gayta zamorana" ("Within sounds every kind of music, and the bagpipes of Zamora"). Later "suena el tamboril" for the gypsy dancers about whose business the *comissario de las danças* has curious things to say. At times the dancers are definitely characterized, too, as in this comedy. One can dance "como una mula" and volunteers to sing "un romance corrente". The musicians elsewhere are to sing "mil zarabandas, mil zambapalos, mil chaconas, mil pésame dello, y mil folías" (The *zambapalo* was a grotesque dance from the West Indies).

But the most enchanting musical scenes and the most curious occur

in the north African scenes of his plays. Years of captivity there familiarized him with Moorish music over the water, so that he knew it as well as the still vigorous Hispano-Musulman tradition of Spain itself. I like to imagine that in the opening lines of his play 'El Príncipe Constante' Calderón had Cervantes in mind when the captive Christians enter the gardens of the king of Fez singing "de oír/Las canciones, que ha escuchado/Tal vez en los baños, llenas/De dolor y sentimiento . . . /Música, cuyo instrumento/Son los huesos y cadenas/Que nos aprisionan./Pues sólo un rudo animal/Sin discurso racional,/Canta alegre en la prisión . . ."⁴ Experience taught Cervantes the philosophy of patience and the slow full ripening of his genius came to mellow perfection in plays such as 'Los baños de Argel' and 'La gran sultana', where the action is suspended for whole scenes together while music lulls the drama to an ambient passivity. At these moments it seems as though the waves of sound flood over the tides of Gibraltar bearing the longing of the captive singers for the golden light of Spain whilst in the African gardens Moorish *atambares*, *flautas tristes*, the guitar and *rabel* add to the great confusion of "Li, li, li, que gran morisma allá corre".

In the 'Retablo de las maravillas' we find the humane Cervantes putting in a friendly word in defence of the poor musician, when the showman pleads that he shall be allowed to remain on the stage and not be relegated behind the reposterio as was the old fashion.

Chanfalla: Siéntense todos. El retablo ha de estar detrás deste reposterio, y la autora también, y aquí el músico.

Benito: Músico es éste? Métanle también detrás del reposterio; que, a trueco de no vello, daré por bien empleado el no oyde.

Chanfalla: No tiene vuessa merced razón, señor alcalde Repollo, de descontentarse del músico, que en verdad que es muy buen cristiano, y hidalgo de solar conocido. . . .

Gob: Calidades son bien necesarias para ser buen músico. . . .⁵

Cervantes, like other Spanish playwrights, sometimes gave the moral of the piece to the musician to express. In the 'Juez de los divorcios' the musicians bring the argument to a conclusion with the words: "Más vale el peor concierto que no el divorcio mejor". This method of rounding off the play is in the tradition of the old *villancico*.

Only a Spanish critic accustomed to the persistently abundant use of music in Spanish plays could write of Cervantes's successful rival in the theatre, Lope de Vega (1562-1635), that music is "almost entirely absent from his plays".⁶ An English reader of our Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists would find that in comparison with them Lope de Vega used music copiously. It would be strange indeed if this passionate genius who sought to embrace every form of life in which his race expressed itself should have neglected a tradition so ardently Spanish! Life flowed so swiftly, so imperiously through Lope's veins that his imagination burst out with exuberant, concrete precipitation, impatient of reflection. His characters have ears only for each other's heart-beats or for the pulse of their own overwhelming desires. When he uses music it is because it is necessary to the play; he brackets musicians with lackeys, as adjuncts to be hired and then thrown aside. Of course his lyrical intensity is so fervent that when in spate it produces the effect of music. At the same time it must be emphasized that he brings in music

4. "Hearing the songs he used to hear, perhaps in the bagnio, full of sorrow and suffering, music whose instrument was the bones and chains that fettered us, for only a brute beast without discourse of reason could sing a cheerful song in captivity."

5. This incident might have provided a suitable appendage to Falla's 'Retablo de Maese Pedro', drawn from 'Don Quixote'.

6. Cotarelo y Mori, 'Ensayo sobre la historia de la zarzuela'.

in the traditional way ; for scenes of popular bustle he reverts to the *romance* and *villancico*. He is exact in his use of dances, old and contemporary, and a vast amount of information about the music-making of his times is to be gathered from the text of his plays. After all, as Cervantes said of him . . . " though some (there are many) have wished to partake of the glory of his works, all together of what they have written does not reach to the half of what he alone has done. . . ." and from this quantity only, a handbook might be compiled dealing exclusively with music. But so instinctive is his sense of the appropriate that he never allows music to usurp the stage. For instance, when in one scene angels descend in a "glory", he directs thus : "mientras cantan un poco"—and no more. It has been well observed how impatient his characters are at the tuning up of the instruments :

Que a un inquieto corazón
Oír templar un instrumento
Es darle mayor tormento
Y doblalle la pasión.

"to an unquiet heart, the hearing of an instrument being tuned is greater torment and doubles the passion". This was Lope's own way—to plunge into the action without any preparation of atmosphere. He needed no fuel for his flames.

To Lope is generally given the title of being author of the first Spanish opera, 'La Selva sin amor', performed in 1629 ; but the subtitle shows that there was nothing very novel in his conception of it : "Egloga pastoral que se cantó a su Magestad en fiestas a su salud", and perhaps only the flourish of a royal performance lent the work its fame. The music has not yet been found, and the name of the composer is unknown. But to the controversy as to whether he was Italian or Spanish one may suggest that since Lope himself gave prominence to the fact that the engineer of the setting was an Italian and that his inventions were novel, it is strange that if the composer were also Italian no mention should have been made of him at the same time. Lope writes explicitly of the music "que los instrumentos ocupaban la primera parte del teatro, sin ser vistos, a cuya armonía cantaban las figuras los versos, haciendo en la misma composición de la música las admiraciones, las quejas, los amores, las iras y los demás afectos". This reference indicates an intimate familiarity with the text on the composer's part and suggests a Spanish collaborator because of the direct use of music as expressive of feeling rather than as an elaborate adornment in the Italian manner. Lope's collaborator on many occasions was the composer Juan Blas de Castro, whose *blandura* of style contemporary writers remarked, but it seems that he was already blind at the date of the representation, though, again, this does not exclude his participation. Blind composers and blind performers have from earliest recorded times taken an active part in Spanish musical life, and this tradition is maintained to-day. Castro was the friend so beloved by Lope that he kissed his hand after death.

To pass from the glittering opulence of Lope's Renaissance world into the region of Calderón de la Barca's reflective genius is to leave the heat of the sun and the dazzle of action for a realm of starlight over which music rises like a pallid moon searching out the vague horizons of the soul. For Calderón (1600-1681) is a Spanish Prospero probing the mystery of the abstract ; he peoples his island with Calibans, Ariels and with sweet sounds—sounds which hover through the air in the shapeless imagery of dreams and the memories of the unconscious. With him the lights in the theatre are darkened—"oscurécese el teatro, que será de peñascos, con el foro de marina", he commands with the wand of

imagination. It seems that as the vitality of his early characters cools down in the crucible of his labyrinthine mind he is driven more and more to rely upon such devices as scenic intricacies and the sybilline chant of unseen choirs. The more mythological and obscure his theme, the more he incorporates music into his design. In contrast to Lope's characters, who are apt to soliloquize on the tigrish side of human nature, Calderón's creatures dwell on the confused memory which entangles sleep with waking ; indeed, the words *confusión* and *memoria* could be taken as cues for music in his dramas. Often music is used as the guiding voice of conscience in the shape of a *coro subterráneo* ; the Prince of Fez is converted by the Virgin and *música oculta* sung mysteriously from within a cloud. He is prone to employ choirs in antiphonal style in his secular plays as well as in the sacramental *autos*. In 'El mayor encanto Amor', Circe's followers off one side of the stage sing "Amor ! Amor !" whilst off stage on the other side Ulysses's Greeks cry "Guerra ! Guerra !" throughout the scene. Music and love win that day, but not the final scene. In 'El Mágico prodigioso' choirs of exaltation chant again off stage "Amor ! Amor !"

Portents and embryonic mysteries take the stage. But the human shadows who flit across the stage in Calderón's reflection invoke and apostrophize music unweariedly. Peculiarly significant of a mind which wishes to lose itself in the infinite abstraction of things is this remark : "Buena la música fuera si no tuviera músicos" ("Music would be good if there were no musicians"). Contrast this with Chansalla's solicitude for his musician ; the humanism of Cervantes and the metaphysics of Calderón each epitomize the spirit of their age.

Commentators have not been slow to see in the 'Jardín de Falerina' a forecast of Kundry's magic gardens. Wagner's admiration for Calderón is well known. But what has escaped notice is a curious resemblance between scenes of 'El Purgatorio de San Patricio' and Mozart's 'Magic Flute'. Ludovico is braced again to face the ordeal he has already vowed to undergo by the sound of music "within" :

Válgame el cielo ! qué escucho ?
Acentos son sonoros ;
Iluminación parece
Del cielo, que misteriosos
Da auxilios al pecador.
Y pues en el reconozco
Lo que Dios inspira, quiero
Entrar en el purgatorio
De Patricio, y cumpliré,
Sujeto, humilde y devoto,
La palabra que le di.

(Heaven help me ! What do I hear ?
These are sonorous tones,
And this illumination seems
To spring from heaven and mysteriously
To give the sinner aid.
And, since I recognize in it
What God inspires : I will
Enter Patricio's purgatory,
And humble, devout, subject,
I will fulfil the vow I made him.)

But the *gracioso* Paulín behaves much as Papageno in a similar plight. These mysterious sights and sounds unnerve him ; he wishes only to get back to the ordinary ways of living and to his humdrum hamlet :

Allí vivo sin enojos,
Y fantasma por fantasma
Bástame mi matrimonio.

(There I live without a care,
And as for ghosts and things that scare,
Marriage is plenty, and to spare !)

Elsewhere a character exclaims "Que hacen lindo maridage, Noche, música y jardín" ("Night, music and a garden ; these make a lovely marriage") ; but Calderón's metaphysical gardens appear now as pompous repositories of baroque statuary and his mystic grottos cast too gloomy a shade for nature to survive. It is extraordinary to turn from these curiosities to Calderón's confident comedies of the traditional cape-and-sword embroilments, which still prove to meet the taste of Spanish audiences. He was not so fortunate in his experiments to produce a Spanish form of opera—the *zarzuela*—but it was not for lack of ability

to gauge the temper of the people, what they would and what they would not tolerate in the way of change. Though he cut down the traditional three acts to two, after a preliminary excursion into a one-act 'La Púrpura de la rosa', which was sung throughout, his 'Celos aun del aire matan', was not a conspicuous popular success.⁷ But this again was probably due to the excessive intervention of nymphs and masks. The music of the first act, by Juan Hidalgo, was found by Subirá in the Duke of Alba's library, and is competent enough. But these "fables, big or little", as Calderón called his first attempts, were not to the liking of the impatient realists of Madrid, who were not interested in a hypothetical world beyond the farther bank of the Manzanares. Later, when the *zarzuela* became the outlet for local customs and contemporary fashions, it was to oust all other musical productions and prove its natural and national vitality by casting off various offshoots such as the *sainete*, the *tonadilla* and so on. The invention of it, however, could never be attributed to any one person: from the earliest representations of the Spanish theatre, the mixture of music and poetry has always been inherent and again and again has proved that in this partnership it is not easy for an indifferent libretto to pass itself off as of superior birth under an enveloping cloak of musical beauty.

Of more than a dozen other first-rate dramatists, in themselves sufficient to make a reputation for national drama in two or three different countries, space forbids mention of more than one. For musical reasons that place must be given to Augustin Moreto (1618-1669). Although in some of his plays the gravitational pull of Calderón's planetary system is obvious, in his famous comedies, and those the most faultless, he carries us effortlessly towards the eighteenth century and into an age which was to refine rather than to enrich. The heroic days were passing and Moreto's fine sensibility was one of the earliest spirits to catch the new tone and to transform the stage into a setting in which irony and acute observation could penetrate with a subtlety that would have passed unseen in sturdier times. Moreto's use of music is deliberate. He weaves it delicately into the texture of his most significant scenes, giving them a melting, poetic beauty and casting an iridescent enchantment over the moods of gallantry. Moreto pricks the heart and pleases the imagination, but he scarcely ever wounds the soul; and even the prick he is quick to soothe with the balm of sound. He shows especial care to surround his heroines with music. In 'El desdén con el desdén' Diana makes her appearance to the sound of singing. And when she finds that her own weapon of disdain is being inexorably turned against her, she is amusingly sure of her power to bring the obstinate duke to heel by her own singing and playing. In fact only the forcible action of Polilla prevents the desperate nobleman from giving way when his ears are assaulted as well as his other senses. Beatrice and Benedick set to music—this is the theme. The most charming scene in the play is that in which the gallants in turn choose one of the coloured scarves belonging to the ladies whilst the musicians sing and play. Each couple dances *una mudanza* and then retires to make room for another prince to choose the colour which best accords with his mood—and with it a partner for the festival. A less famous play, 'Lo que puede la aprehensión', has in one edition for sub-title the apt indication 'La fuerza del oído' (the force of hearing), for its theme is that of a man in love with the voice of a woman he has never seen. To deceive the eyes with the

^{7.} In the *los* of 'La Púrpura de la rosa' he voiced his own doubts: "No miras cuánto se arriesga/en que se llera española/sufra toda una comedia/cantada?" ("Do you not see the risk incurred that Spanish choler should suffer a play that's sung throughout?")

ears—"engaña los ojos con los oídos" is how Moreto expresses this idea in yet another play; and again, "Me han vuelto los ojos a los oídos, Norte vocal, sed mi guía". ("My eyes have gone to my ears; vocal lode-star, be my guide").

The heroine of 'Lo que puede la aprehensión', Fenisia, is one of the most Shakespearean of all Spanish stage women. She has several advantages over the more famous Diana. We are told early in 'El desdén con el desdén' that it is through a study of philosophy that Diana has arrived at her present state of despising all men, which, it must be confessed, casts a chill over our expectancy until she appears and reveals herself to be no less irrational than any other woman in spite of her learning. Fenisia, on the other hand, makes her first appearance, *viuhuela* in hand, already sighing for love and showing by her impassioned speech that she has slumbered with Plato under her pillow. By her desire to be loved for the beauty of her soul she transmutes the prose text of the 'Symposium' into her own feminine versification. Moreto is careful not to strain probability; he gives Fenisia beauty enough to please even a wilful duke, and wit and honour and pride to give her force and interest of character. But it is her voice which is the magnet to the man, and she knows it. The whole play is concerned with the sound and attraction of the human voice and the deception by which one sense will seek to maintain its ascendancy over another. This would make an admirable opera—that is, in the Spanish style:

en que el discurso hablado
ya con frecuentes arias sé interpola,
o ya con dúo, coro y recitado . . .

as Iriarte depicts it.

The curious play of 'San Gil de Portugal' by Moreto has a strange scene the subject of which is the tempting of a holy man by means of sensuous music. From the moment the musicians begin to play he is stirred by misgivings but finds he cannot resist the temptation to listen to them. He succumbs and abducts the same woman from whom he has immediately before persuaded her lover to separate. The whole play with its scenes amidst the rocky hills near Coimbra, shows an extravagant defiance of nearly all the rules of dramatic unity, but is not the less interesting for that reckless originality. Elsewhere, with the craftsman's economy, Moreto uses the reverse pattern of this same material in 'La adultera penitente' where the man of weak conscience hesitates on the steps leading to the room of Teodora when he hears music such as Calderón was wont to employ. But Moreto rarely neglects the aid of the musicians. He can even turn the accident of plot upon the fact that one of a group of serenading musicians cannot run away because his harp is too cumbersome to permit his escape with the others.

THE MUSIC FOR UNACCOMPANIED BASS VIOL

BY CHARLES W. HUGHES

VIEWED in a long perspective the music for solo viola da gamba is only a moment in the musical evolution which finally left the keyboard instruments as the only truly self-sufficient harmonic instruments. This fact, almost axiomatic to-day, was hardly so in the seventeenth century, when the solo gamba was classified with the theorbo and harpsichord as a harmony instrument. The gamba was indeed capable of a limited

kind of chordal technique, borrowed from the practice of the lutenists, and then handed down to the violin and cello in a small number of works which, however, gain in importance if we realize that they include Bach's solo works for violin and cello. Too often Bach's Partitas are considered in isolation. Actually Bach, in this instance as in so many others, was not extemporizing new forms, but composing in a well-defined if limited genre with superlative success and in a highly personal manner. For the general reader perhaps the chief value of this study may be the filling in of a background, placing these works of Bach's against the contemporary traditions out of which they grew.

Our study is restricted, in general, to pieces for gamba solo and to compositions in which the continuo part is optional. Before this literature is considered in detail, however, some observations concerning the gamba and its technique may be useful.

The viol or viola da gamba was a flat-backed stringed instrument with deep ribs and sloping shoulders. The fingerboard was wide and relatively flat to accommodate the six strings with which it was normally furnished. The French gambist Marin Marais is said to have added a seventh string in the bass, the low A. The bridge also, like that of the early violin, was comparatively flat, and this facilitated chord playing. The normal tuning was D G C E A D, a scaffolding of fourths with a single third between the third and fourth strings, a tuning which was that of the English lute and which (with a shift of the third) survives in the modern guitar. The fingerboard had gut frets that facilitated chord playing, particularly in combinations in which the first finger is laid flat along the fret as in the *barre* of the guitarist. Although the gamba family was constructed in sizes corresponding to the instruments of the string quartet, it also possessed a true tenor, a voice which is lacking in the modern (though not the older) violin choir. The soloist of the gamba family was the bass, a curious (and it would appear a unique) case, since in all other groups of uniform colour the soprano of the group most frequently acts as the melodic instrument. (Perhaps it is irreverent to mention here the exception to the rule, the saxophone family, in which the alto is the soloist.) A distinction must, however, be made (and especially in England) between the large consort bass intended to support the harmony of a group of viols and the smaller bass instrument with a special tuning known as the lyra viol. In France, if we may judge by pictorial representations, a bass of the largest size seems to have been used for solo performances.

It is clear from what has been said above that the bass viol was variously employed. Perhaps no one has summarized these varieties more clearly than Le Sieur de Machy in the preface to his 'Pièces de Violle' of 1685. His first manner, "and the most usual," that of playing pieces in harmony, "is the peculiarity of all instruments which may be played alone. . . ." The second manner "consists in accompanying oneself, or in singing one part while one plays the other". As to the third manner, de Machy seems to have forgotten it as he continues his preface, but evidently it would be the employment of the viol in simple melody. The excessive zeal which he reveals as he defends the viol as a harmonic instrument makes us suspect that there were many who did not appreciate harmony on the viol.

Our author concludes thus :

Finally, to reply to some individuals who wish to assert that simple melodic pieces are preferable to those that are harmonized, I say they err more than they think, since they show in this way that they are ignorant in the matter. And when they show melodic pieces by some skilled man to justify themselves by his example, they do not notice that they are made for several viols ; a thing which is easy to

ascertain. A person may have an excellent hand and play beautiful melodies in an agreeable fashion, although unharmonized (*simples*), but this must be compared to a man who plays the clavecin or the organ perfectly with one hand only; this unaccompanied (*simple*) performance may be agreeable, nevertheless it is not called playing the clavecin or the organ.

It is the same with those who wish to restrict the viol to melodic pieces, which has never been the custom for this instrument when played by itself. Whoever knows how to do more can do less when he wishes. They consider that they give good reasons, saying that chords prevent one from playing in singing style (*faire de beaux chants*) and with ornaments, and that as a result one cannot play so expressively. Thus the *dessus de violle* and other instruments of this kind would be preferred to all those that I have named for harmony. When a man understands his calling well, chords ought not to hinder him in performing beautiful melodies with all the ornaments necessary to play with expression.

De Machy's careful elucidation makes it unnecessary to do more than point out his incidental characterization of the *dessus de violle* as an instrument suited to simple melody, and to add that he suggests a fourth method of playing—by plucking the strings—a method which seems to have left no trace in his own published works. Nevertheless, the hint is a useful one and may be compared to the use of pizzicato chords (the “thump”) in certain English pieces for lyra viol.

Thus the pieces under discussion here form a well-defined class characterized by their use of harmony. Harmony on any instrument with a fingerboard is limited both by the number of notes which are sufficiently close on the fingerboard to be grasped and by the fact that the structure of the human hand is easily adjusted only to certain of these possibilities. Thus a limited number of chords in a few easily available positions tend to reappear with such frequency as to give such music a special character.

A single example may illustrate what is meant. The chord of D major on the gamba is magnificent in sonority and very easily produced, since only three strings out of the six need to be stopped. A similar six-part chord on E would be difficult (though several three- and four-note chords are easy) since every note except the open E would have to be altered. The principle is one which is familiar to string performers. The result in gamba music is a restricted choice of keys and a choice of chords and intervals so limited as to fall into stereotypes unless the composer displays ingenuity of a high order. It must not be supposed that the harmony in solo gamba music is necessarily continuous. The cadence is habitually reinforced with a resounding chord (and no doubt the player supplied one if the composer forgot), and a chord is added here and there wherever emphasis is required or an effective interval is readily available.

Another characteristic of music for solo gamba is a dispersed and arpeggiated harmony. The player touches a bass tone to establish a harmony and then develops a melodic phrase above it, then interrupts the melodic phrase again to suggest the next note in the bass. The Coranto by Mr. Steffins (see Ex. 8, p. 161) is a characteristic example of this style in which the instrument sketches in a melody and a bass with frequent alternations of lower and higher registers. Many of these examples require an exceptionally neat and accurate bow to “sound.” This contrast between the rich sonority of the lower strings and the singing tone of the higher delighted the Italian violinists of the seventeenth century as well as the gambists.

In England most music for solo viol was designed for a small bass with variable tuning. This was the lyra viol. The most usual tunings (indeed the only tunings employed in Playford's ‘Musick's Recreation

on the Viol, Lyra-way') were "Harpway sharp" and "Harpway flat."¹ The former was a tuning to the chord of G major, the latter to the G minor chord. This tuning facilitated the production of chords containing notes common to the G triad. And since hardly any other keys were employed in the collection, the difficulty of playing chords in remote keys was not an obstacle.

Playford's account of the origin of this manner of playing the viol is interesting, but perhaps not entirely accurate. He says (in the preface to 'Musick's Recreation') :

This way of playing on the Viol, is but a late Invention, in imitation of the Old English Lute or Bandora . . . The first Authors I have met with of Inventing and Setting Lessons this way to the Viol, was [sic] Mr. Daniel Farunt, Mr. Alphonso Ferabosco, and Mr. John Coperario.

This statement, appended to a publication of 1661, is curious. 'The First Part of Ayres' by Tobias Hume (published in 1605) contains music for "Leero Viols". Thomas Ford (whose volume, 'Musicke of Sundrie Kinds', appeared in 1607) published dances for "two Basse-Viols; Liera-way", but he is not mentioned. Alfonso Ferrabosco published his 'Lessons for 1, 2, and 3 Viols' in 1609.² Yet in spite of these publications of over half a century earlier Playford refers to this manner of playing the viol as "of late invention". Daniel Farrant, the reputed inventor of the genre, seems to have left no viol music which has survived. The same seems to be true of Giovanni Coperario, as far as solo music for lyra viol is concerned, though his interesting concerted music for viols is extant.

The 'Musicke of Sundrie Kinds' by Thomas Ford contains, in addition to the music under discussion here, the well-known song 'Since first I saw your face.' The music for viol is in the second of the two books into which the work is divided and includes (as the title-page sets forth) "Pauens, Galiards, Almaines, Toies, Igges, Thumps, and such like, for two Basse-Viols; Liera-way". A "Toy" was a piece of light and playful character. The "Thump" was a piece which employed notes or chords played pizzicato, and it is interesting to see this effect, which is never indicated in other types of gamba music, appear so early in the century.

The 'Lessons for 1, 2, and 3 Viols' by Alfonso Ferrabosco the younger appeared two years later, in 1609.³ A suite for one viol from this collection may give some idea of the music contained in the volume. This suite consists of a Pavin followed by a Coranto, a Galliard and another Coranto. These dances, especially the Pavin, are in a rather full style with a very free use of double notes and three-note chords. It is interesting to note the effect of tempo on the chordal style, the Coranto being the thinnest in texture on account of its rapid movement. A passage from the first Coranto shows a typical lute-like passage and the harmony it suggests. Note that suspensions are implied though the discords are not actually struck. Even more interesting is a passage from the second Coranto where for a few measures a three-part harmony is suggested though only two parts are sounded simultaneously.

¹ This volume was first issued in 1652 under the title of 'Musick's Recreation on the Lyra Viol'. The later editions under the title given in the text above appeared in 1661, 1669 and 1682.

² This list might be extended by the inclusion of two volumes by William Corkine, the 'Airs to sing and play to the lute and Bass Violl' of 1610, and 'The 2. book of Ayres' of 1612. Both publications contain music for lyra viol.

³ Eitner and Pulver both give this date as 1609. Hayes in the second volume of his 'Musical Instruments and their Music' which deals with the viola gives 1607 (footnote, p. 130).

Ex. 1. Coranto I

Ex. 2. Coranto II

Very curious are the pieces for three viols in the same collection and very different from the three-voice fancies for three consort viols. Here the composer has dealt with three instruments of equal compass, so that each is in turn bass, soprano or middle part. There is a continual and restless crossing of one part over or under the others. The composer has aimed at fullness of harmony without being willing to relinquish an imitative texture. A member of the trio will suddenly cease playing a soprano part to play a phrase in the bass register or will accompany with an easily produced chord. At the beginning the first and third players have two and the second performer three notes producing the rich sustained harmonies with which so many pavans begin. The piece has the character of a sketch, a mosaic, with filling parts appearing and vanishing and with melodic phrases coming to the fore and disappearing without much continuity in the various melodic lines. Nevertheless, the richness of sound and the fullness of the sonorities must have made these pieces grateful to contemporary listeners.

John Maynard, who next claims our attention, was the composer of one of the most curious works of the period, 'The XII Wonders of the World' (1611). These twelve wonders, which form the first part of Maynard's volume, are songs for one voice with lute and bass viol, depicting people of various stations and conditions: 'The Courtier', 'The Diuine', 'The Souldiour', and later, with greater stress on marital status, 'The Batchelor', 'The Marryed Man', ending with 'The Maide'. These, however, concern us less than the series of 'Pavins for Lyra Viol and Bass Viol' which form the second part of the volume. Anthony à Wood in his 'Manuscript Lives of Musicians' mentions Maynard as one of the early composers for the gamba, lyra way. This must be accepted, though the volumes of Ford, Ferrabosco and Hume bear earlier dates. We must also surmise that a man who would write music for viol in a novel manner must himself have been a performer. He does not claim this distinction for himself, however, his title-page stating only that he was "Lutenist at the most famous School of St. Julians in Hartfordshire".

Following this group of earlier composers there is an apparent hiatus, broken by the appearance of Playford's 'Musick's Recreation on the Lyra Viol' of 1652 and his later 'Musick's Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-Way' of 1661. The discussion here will be based on the later publication.⁴ Obviously designed for amateur performers these charming tunes, some of them only eight bars in length, disarm criticism. The volume is divided into two parts, the first containing pieces for the tuning called "Harpway sharp" (*i.e.* tuned to the G major chord), the second containing pieces for the G minor tuning ("Harpway flat"). The pieces are so faithful to these keys that it is painful to think of the perplexity of a performer nourished on these volumes who might be asked to play in the key of E \flat major. Some of the pieces are obviously arrangements of songs or popular tunes, such as 'Fain I would' or 'The King enjoys his own'. Others too are probably arrangements, like the 'Tune' by Mr. Banister, who was a performer on the violin and the flageolet, but

⁴ The edition of 1682 was used by the author.

not, as far as we know, a gambist. Still other pieces may have been composed for the viol, like the naïve and pleasant 'Gilliflower' by Mr. Simon Ives.

Technically the only feature that deserves mention is the use of pizzicato notes and chords. Otherwise the tunes run their brief and popular courses with the cadences marked by chords and with occasional double notes. There are, however, a number of composers who wrote music for a solo bass viol with normal tuning. This music is properly within our field.

The earliest of these composers to be considered here is Christopher Simpson, whose 'Division Viol' has been the best instructor since its first appearance in 1659. As the title would indicate, most of the music consists of variations over a ground and hence is outside our field. Simpson's preludes for beginners, though diminutive, are clever and idiomatic examples of writing for gamba. Like much music of the kind, they tend to start in chordal style and then break into more animated passages in arpeggio style. The prelude in G minor, by exception, is chordal throughout and employs suspensions with unusual frequency. This music, with its clear harmonies and attractive figuration, is uncommonly interesting to play. It is music for the recreation of the solitary player, not concert music.

A copy of the 'Division Viol', now in the Drexel Collection at the New York Public Library, is especially interesting for the manuscript music bound with it. Most of this music consists of divisions, but there is also an interesting suite by Mr. Steffins dated 1664 and consisting of an Almand, two Corantos, Sa (raband) and Gigue. A final note adds, "A Suite of Mr. Steffins he gave me at Lon [? don] ye 1664". This suite is of some importance as a (? unique) example of Steffins's style of performance, for Pulver in his article on Steffins states: "I have not been able to see any compositions by a member of this family". The scanty biographical material available would indicate that Steffins was a musician of foreign birth whose arrival in England coincided with the Restoration and whose last recorded appearance was in the court masque of 1674. An entry of 1661 records a payment of £10 "to buy and provide one basse Violl for his Majesty's service." He played the lyra viol as well and on two occasions (1663 and 1670-71) he was furnished with £12 to buy one.

It is Steffins's close association with (and probable influence on) English gamba playing that gives him a special interest for us. His close friendship with John Jenkins is confirmed by Roger North in the 'Musical Grammarian'. North also speaks of Jenkins's regard for Steffins and frequently acted as messenger carrying newly composed music from Jenkins to Steffins. A further testimony to the reputation which Steffins enjoyed in England is contained in Salmon's 'Essay on the Advancement of Musick'. It is perhaps not too fanciful to hazard the theory that our manuscript may have belonged to Jenkins and may have been a present from Steffins in return for those sent to him. As we have seen, Steffins played both lyra viol and bass viol. The suite under discussion here is, however, clearly for an instrument with the usual tuning rather than one of the special lyra tunings, as is evidenced by the range, the choice of chords and the characteristic passages on the first string up to the seventh fret (or a step or half step above it), the usual upper limit for the normal bass. This music is pleasantly melodious and presents a number of passages with skips from a bass string to an upper string which demand a quick and sure bow hand. Our suite does indeed resemble the Simpson preludes in general style; but Pulver's theory

that Steffins influenced gamba performance is hardly strengthened by this new piece, since the Simpson pieces of 1659 are somewhat more ingenious and more difficult than the Steffins suite of 1664. We should need to know more music by Steffins to form a definitive judgment, but it is hardly likely that more will be found.

One seizes with pleasure on any opportunity to refer to Mace's 'Musick's Monument', although he prints only three compositions for solo viol, and these are not of great merit. The most extended example is a somewhat rambling prelude based largely on arpeggio figures and chiefly remarkable for its carefully marked echo effects.⁵

The last composer of the English school to be considered here is Mr. B. Hely, who published a thin volume containing melodiously effective suites for gamba solo. A copy of this extremely rare volume is in the Library of Congress at Washington. The sequence of movements in his effective suite in A major is the usual Almand, Corant, Saraband and Jigg. Slurs frequently indicate legato bowings and are interesting in showing a trend towards a more singing style. Cadential treatments are somewhat conventional (usually the root, third and fifth are sounded successively, followed by a full chord). Bass notes are introduced somewhat infrequently and in a way which interferes little with the melodic flow. The author is so little known to fame that his name does not appear at all in Pulver's 'Biographical Dictionary of Old English Music'. Yet his volume, without approaching greatness, contains idiomatic and tuneful music with some tendency towards an over-symmetrical melodic construction and conventional formulas.

In France we find less music for solo gamba than in England, although important collections for one or two gambas with continuo were published by such composers as Marin Marais, Louis de Caix d'Hervelois and Antoine Forqueray, not to mention concerted music with gamba by Couperin and Rameau. An interesting little volume containing manuscript suites for solo viol is in the Library of Congress. They are by Du Buisson, an obscure French composer of the seventeenth century. After a page inscribed "Le premier Jour de Septembre 1666", follows a Prelude in D minor, then an indication of the tuning for the viol (D G C E A D), which is the normal tuning but lacks the low A or seventh string. Then follow the other movements of the first suite in order: Allemande, Courante, Sarabande (in which the second section is written out again in a more highly ornamented form marked "petite reprise") and Gigue. These are very simple little pieces, written no doubt for some pupil. The careful way in which slurs and fingerings are marked also suggests a pedagogic aim. In the Allemande, for example, Du Buisson has placed a 3 over a C as a warning. "Take the half position here", he says in effect, "you must prepare to play the F which follows without a sudden shift". (Readers who do not play stringed instruments may need a word of explanation here. The normal position for the first finger is a whole step from the open string A. This would mean that the second finger would play C, and when F occurs later the hand would have to be suddenly moved back to the first fret on the E string. Du Buisson's fingering ensures that the hand is in position for the note in advance, so that it may be played easily and with assurance.) In the middle of the second strain he has placed a 4 over the high A on the first string as if to say "Reach for it with the little finger". The ornaments used are the ' which is the short mordant from above preceded by an appoggiatura, and the cross which served for a long period in

⁵. Two of Mace's three examples are in normal tuning. The third mentioned above is described by the composer as "more *Mastery*, and *Larger*, in the Harp-Tuning-Sharp".

French music to indicate almost any variety of trill. Here it seems to indicate a trill without appoggiatura. The directions for slurring are much more interesting, showing on the one side the advent of a more legato style and on the other the derivation of the legato bowings from ornaments, since the ornamental note was normally connected with the following harmonic note under the same movement of the bow. For example the slur connecting B \flat to the A in the Sarabande gives the former note the character of a written-out appoggiatura. The legato run from E up to G is a slide translated into normal notation. The treatment of the dotted crotchet followed by three quavers in the same movement (in 3—4) is perhaps a little unexpected: the slur over the three quavers tends to emphasize the first quaver more than is desirable from our point of view. In the "petite reprise" six-note scales in quavers are slurred together, which is unusual for gamba music of the period. However, it would be in a singing movement like the Sarabande that we should expect the first indications of a slurred legato style. The most extended account of Du Buisson is to be found in the 'Musiciens oubliés, Musique retrouvée' by Charles Bouvet.

The title-page of de Machy's 'Pièces de Viole' of 1685 bears the statement: "Elles . . . sont les premières qui jusque à présent ayent paru au jour". This statement, as readers of this study will understand, is not true unless we ignore the English literature with which the Sieur de Machy was evidently not familiar. If we restrict the field to music published in France, we must grant his claim. This rare and diminutive volume was engraved by H. Bonneuil in Paris. The author's address is given with an abundance of detail that reflects, no doubt, both the difficulties of finding one's way in old Paris and the author's desire to facilitate the sale of his volume: "Chez l'autheur rue neuue des Fossez Fauxbourg St. Germain au grand Monarque vis à vis du petit Maure entre la porte de Bussy et celle de St. Germain". Since his volume contains pieces both in music and tablature, what he has to say of the relative merits of the two notations is not without interest:

I say then that it is very certain that one can learn this style [i.e. playing pieces in harmony] much better by tablature than by music, especially for those that do not know it [i.e. staff notation]. For proof of which one knows that music is subject to several changes of clef; that one must observe the flats and sharps; the unisons, not only with open strings, but also with those which are not, and frequently we meet with notes on the same string that must be played on others, which causes great confusion, especially for beginners; which discourages them. And it is for this reason that one uses tablature for pieces for Lute, Theorbo, Guitar and the other instruments with fingerboards, which alone produce harmony, and all the more since these difficulties do not exist for it.

We may smile at the spectacle of the Sieur de Machy wringing his hands at the thought that with ordinary notation one must beware of sharps and flats. Nevertheless, his reasoning is eminently practical. Many a teacher of the present day would rejoice in a notation which led the student to choose infallibly between B \natural and B \flat or which clearly showed without any special sign, not only that a given note was to be played, but that it was to be played on a certain string.

De Machy's tablature is simple. The six lines represent the six normal strings of the instrument. (The added seventh string sounding low A is notated below the lowest line.) The letters of the alphabet designate how a note is produced on a given string: A being the open string, "b" the first fret, and so on up to "h", which would be the seventh and last fret. This, of course, explains how the usual troubles with

sharps and flats are avoided. $B\flat$ on the A string would be notated on the fifth line (counting up from the bottom) with a "b"; $B\sharp$ on the other hand, would require a "c". The difficulty of deciding which string should be employed to produce a given note is met in the same fashion. If D is produced on the first string (the highest), it would be indicated by an "a" on the top line. If the same note is to be played on the A string, it would be notated with an "f" on the line below. Both symbols employed simultaneously would indicate that the unison between the two strings was to be employed, a frequent effect. Tablature was, in short, a condensed set of directions for playing a particular instrument. Critics who reproach tablature with teaching fingering rather than sounds are only partially justified. To be sure, most of de Machy's pupils probably thought of putting down the first finger on the first string rather than the sound of the note E. But how many present-day violin students think of fingers rather than sounds? Tablature demands a motion necessary to produce a given sound. Staff notation suggests a sound which may be produced by a given movement. We must grant that the latter puts the vital factor, the sound, first.

De Machy's first volume contains his suites "in music". He precedes the allemande of the conventional suite by a prelude, which he tells us may be played fast or slow according to the player's fancy. His gigue is followed by a gavotte and a minuet as additional dances in all save the last suite where a chaconne is substituted for the final minuet. The style of these is admirably calculated, for the melody is enriched without being impeded by the chords and double stops. The pieces are edited with scrupulous care. Up and down bows are marked; the latter (the unaccented stroke for the gambist, who held the bow with the palm turned up) are indicated with "t" *tirez*. It is interesting to see how carefully the upbeats are marked with a "t" so that the up bow (*poussez* or "p") may be reserved for the accent. Slurs are frequent and varied, and fingerings occur wherever a difficulty is to be avoided or a misunderstanding prevented. The seventh string adds sonority to chords, particularly the A major or minor chord. (See, for example, f. 27 with the A major chord in six parts.) Less usual is the solo passage on the lowest strings (f. 356) with its grave sonority. In short, this music represents all that was possible in unaccompanied gamba music in the courtly style. Yet with all the composer's skill, he had to content himself with a few favourable positions of each chord, so that a certain uniformity was imposed, not indeed on the melodies, but on the harmonies with which they were accompanied.

The viol, in spite of de Machy's eloquence, could be an instrument of harmony only at this brief moment when keyboard technique with its infinitely more varied resources had perhaps conquered, but not entirely superseded, the weaker sonorities of the "Lute, Theorbo and Bass Viol". The later French gambists wrote suites in which the gamba sang to the harpsichord, and in doing so reached the high point of the literature.

Turning momentarily to Holland, we must note one remarkable gambist there, Johann Schenk, whose sixth opus, his 'Scherzi musicali', has been edited by Dr. Hugo Leichtentritt. Since this work is provided with a continuo part throughout, it would hardly concern us here were it not for the fact that the continuo part is specifically indicated as "ad libitum" for all except the fourth sonata which is "con basso obbligato". That this is really so is indicated by many passages where the solo instrument plays the bass and the upper parts as well:

Ex. 3. Gamba

Continuo

Allemande (No. 28)

Thus the bulk of this work may properly be considered in this paper. The contents of the volume vary a great deal, ranging from simple melodic pieces, which surely would be more effective with the accompanying continuo part, to compositions of great difficulty, polyphonic and chordal in treatment, where the continuo merely reinforces the solo instrument, adding little independent matter to the ensemble. In the D major fugue we have a difficult and seriously developed composition with a lavish use of three- and four-voice writing which compels respect. There are, for example, five entries of the subject in the exposition, although Schenk finds it impossible to write in more than a three- or four-voice texture. The following excerpt shows the first three entries. The continuo part is omitted :

Of course the music is not free from harmonic padding, as may be seen in the fourth bar of our excerpt, where Schenk yields to the temptation of employing the easy four-part D major chord though only three voices have entered up to this point. The episodes are in general closely related to the subject :

The episode quoted above is, of course, evolved from the ascending scale which closes the subject. The following excerpt shows a development of the most striking feature of the subject, the threefold repetition at the beginning :

Only one episode develops into semiquaver figuration with little reference to the subject. The fugue ends with an *adagio tremolo* which, after referring once more to the subject, closes with an improvisatory flourish. The tremolo called for would appear to be a bow tremolo and, if this is so, would be a novel use of this effect in viol music.

Lack of space prevents an equally close study of the other polyphonic works in this volume, though they are of great interest. Even the limited discussion which is all that has been possible here will indicate the formidable demands on the player's technique, the serious workmanship and the composer's high aim. We have here a work comparable

to the unaccompanied fugues of Bach. Only a certain squareness in construction, a somewhat limited range of harmonies and above all the lack of really warming and vivifying emotion prevents these works from reaching genuine greatness.

Schenk's Op. IX, 'L'Écho du Danube', is even more interesting from the point of view of music for unaccompanied gamba. The work comprises six sonatas: the first two with continuo and hence outside the scope of this study, the third and fourth with optional continuo and the last two for solo gamba. Since the chief notes of the bass are included in the gamba part in Sonatas III and IV, they are similar in manner to the 'Sonata con Basso ad lib.' in the earlier collection. Sonata V, however, as the title-page notes, is "à une Viole de Gambe seule". It is a most ingratiating work with less of the virtuoso manner about it than many of Schenk's works, but attractive and melodious. It consists of an Adagio in chordal style followed by a Largo, Gavotta, Adagio, Giga and Aria.

Some of the German gamba works are song transcriptions. Tappert⁶ quotes what appears to be a transcription of a German part-song for solo gamba, 'Dir nur, du stiller verschwiegener Bach'. The style of the transcription suggests a rather literal paraphrase of the vocal original, made as full in texture as the limitations of the instrument would permit. Jakob Kremberg's 'Musicalische Gemütsergötzung' is a collection of songs for voice or two voices with basso continuo. It also provides arrangements of each song in tablature for a variety of instruments: lute, guitar, angélique and gamba. The word "arrangement" is used advisedly, for the gamba combines the vocal melody with the bass part, adding harmonic filling parts here and there. In other words the gamba part is not written merely as an accompaniment to the voice, but as a solo piece for the instrument. Kremberg uses a variable tuning: sometimes the normal D G C E A D, sometimes a variant such as D G D G B D (f. 19). Yet in spite of the fact that each of the parts in tablature duplicates the musical substance of the others, Kremberg evidently contemplated the possibility of having them played together, for he gives instructions for tuning the various instruments with one another.

The 'Primitiae Chelicae' by Conrad Hoeffler contains twelve suites for gamba with bass composed "in the contemporary florid instrumental style (nach der ietzt florirenden Instrumental Art eingerichtet)". Einstein's remark⁷ that these works can dispense with the continuo does not seem entirely justified. Though Hoeffler draws his effects largely from double notes and chords, the progressions are not always satisfying without the bass. See, for example, the sequence of seventh chords in the Fuga of the first Suite, where the bare fourths on the second and fourth beats require the bass to complete the chord. The opening of the same movement is even more conclusive because it is the basso continuo which announces the subject, which is then answered by the gamba. In the true fugues for unaccompanied gamba by Schenk and Abel all the various entrances of the subject are included in the gamba part. Einstein also suggests that the four Partitas by Kühnel for gamba with basso continuo might well be performed by unaccompanied gamba, since they are written in a style similar to that of lute music. These Partitas follow the classic order of Allemande, Courante, Sarabande and Gigue.

In the chamber works of Becker, Ehrlebach or Buxtehude, however, we find the gamba employed as a melodic instrument without chords or (in Ehrlebach) with a very sparing use of double notes, and with full

⁶ In his 'Sang und Klang aus alter Zeit' (Berlin, 1906).

⁷ In his 'Zur deutschen Literatur für Viola da gamba im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert'.

chords marking the cadences. Elsewhere, as in Reinken's 'Hortus Musicus', the gamba functions as a simple continuo instrument.

The period of Bach has thus been reached, and in this connection the two Abels, the father, Christian Friedrich, and the son, Carl Friedrich, are of especial interest. It was very probably for the father that Bach wrote the gamba sonatas *senza basso* at Cöthen. The son is interesting as the last representative of the true gamba style. Carl Friedrich Abel was born at Cöthen in 1725 and became a member of the St. Thomas School at Leipzig under Bach. After a stay of ten years at Dresden, where he played in the court orchestra conducted by the great Hasse, he went to London, where his musical taste as displayed in his gamba playing was greatly admired, though the instrument itself was completely out of fashion. Though the bulk of his compositions consists of quartets, overtures and concertos, he wrote sonatas with continuo for his chosen instrument. He also (and this is of especial interest here) wrote music for unaccompanied gamba. A valuable collection of such works is preserved in the Drexel Collection in the Music Division of the New York Public Library. These compositions, which appear to be in the composer's autograph, are included in a volume of which the remainder is devoted to a neat copyist's transcript of Corelli's Sonatas, Op. V. The gamba compositions (which are written in a firm but hasty hand) display virtuoso traits in the form of movements in perpetual motion, rapid legato scale passages and arpeggios, as well as a highly developed technique in double stopping, though here the use of this device is lighter, daintier than with earlier gambists. Doublings of the melody in thirds or thirds alternating with sixths mark these as true eighteenth-century works. The first suite (in D major) consists of an Allegro in perpetual motion (absolutely homophonic save for an A major chord at the double bar), an untitled but obviously slow movement, a charming Minuet with a rustic middle section partly over a continuously sounding open E string, an Adagio, a Vivace of interest for its passages in arpeggio style. A sample pattern is first written out in full while the remainder (as in some of the works of Bach) appears simply as block chords which are to be similarly interpreted. The next movement is an Andante; then follows an untitled movement largely in thirds and a brief minuet, which is in turn followed by a cadenza abounding in four-part chords and rushing legato passages. The work continues with a fugue and then closes with an untitled movement in the rhythm of a *bouillée*. The fugue is of especial interest. The exposition is followed by a central arpeggiated episode terminating with a fermata. The subject then appears in stretto. The answer which originally followed after two bars now enters after two crotchets. The whole movement is natural and unconstrained, vigorous, yet beautifully written for the instrument.

Little music for unaccompanied gamba was written in Germany. We do, however, find an interesting development of music for solo violin among a limited group of composers of German birth. It seems necessary to discuss this development briefly to account for an interesting fact. J. S. Bach wrote both for gamba and for solo violin. His gamba music, however, both in the three sonatas with harpsichord and the orchestral obbligato parts is absolutely homophonic. The gamba for Bach was a purely melodic instrument valuable as a flexible and agile high tenor voice. On the other hand, Bach did write difficult and elaborate solo music for violin and for cello demanding skill of the highest order in chord playing and double stopping. Why, then, did a composer who understood so well the possibilities of the stringed instruments neglect and utterly ignore the possibilities of polyphonic

gamba playing? Why, on the other hand, did he write for violin in a manner that in spite of all its ingenuity seems less in its nature than straightforward instrumental song? We cannot say that he depended on a local gamba player who was not notably skilful. The gambist who could play the three sonatas (especially the difficult third sonata) was not incompetent. A difficulty then presents itself. How can we account for the fact that Bach's unaccompanied violin music is so precisely in the style of previous unaccompanied gamba music?

The earliest unaccompanied violin music seems to have been by Thomas Baltzar, a virtuoso whose performances in England are so amusingly described by Anthony à Wood. Born at Lübeck (c. 1630), he came to England and entered the service of Charles II as violinist and concert-master. He evidently was the first player to appear in England who employed the shift. Anthony à Wood puts the matter more quaintly. "He then saw him run up his fingers to the end of the finger-board of the violin, and run them back insensibly, and all with alacrity and in very good tune, which he nor any in England saw the like before." His career was evidently shortened by his success. "Company, especially musical company, delighting in drinking, made him drink more than ordinary, which brought him to his grave." He died in 1663. We do not know precisely when he arrived in England, but Evelyn heard him in London in 1656.

Why then did this German violinist write music in what appears to be a novel manner for his day? One may say, of course, that it was a novelty which he devised. While this cannot be wholly denied, one may point out that Baltzar could and probably did hear such performers on the gamba as Stefkins, Jenkins or Simpson. The first edition of Simpson's 'Division Viol' appeared in 1659, Playford's 'Musick's Recreation on the Lyra Viol' in 1652. What would be more natural than that Baltzar should attempt to transfer to the violin an English style of gamba playing which flourished at the time when he appeared in England? An excerpt from his second Prelude in G may be set against a passage from the Gigue by Stefkins:



The similarity of style and texture is apparent. Again let us place Baltzar's Allemande (printed in Hawkins III, 329) against an Almand by Hely:



Here we have a similarity in melodic contour as well as a general similarity in style.

The next composer to write for solo violin was Heinrich Ignaz Franz von Biber, born more than a decade later than Baltzar (1644). It seems impossible definitely to prove a continuity of tradition between the stay-at-home Biber, with a life-time of service under the Archbishop of Salzburg, and the expatriate Baltzar. What is abundantly clear is Biber's passionate preoccupation with polyphonic violin playing.

One of the pieces [solos for a Violin and a Bass, 1681] is written on three staves as if a score for two violins and a bass, but meant to be played in double stops . . . a second work by this musician, entitled *Fidicinium Sacro-Prophanum*, consists of twelve sonatas in four and five parts, to be played on three instruments ; and a third : *Harmonia Artificiosa-riosa*, published at Nuremberg, consisting of pieces of seven parts to be played on three instruments. (Burney II, 462.)

More directly in the line which leads towards Bach is the Passacaglia for unaccompanied violin which is appended to a collection of fifteen sonatas for violin and bass, the programmatic intent of which is made clear by copper engravings representing the fifteen mysteries from the life of the Virgin Mary and of Christ. The passacaglia is a work of serious purpose, built on four descending notes, G F E \flat D, melancholy in mood and far surpassing in difficulty anything of Baltzar's which has survived. It is not unworthy of comparison with the Bach Chaconne.

Johann Paul V. Westhoff is of the greatest interest because of the suite for solo violin he published in Paris in 1682, a work which testifies to his great skill in this highly specialized style. Born at Dresden, he became a virtuoso performer, perhaps the first to undertake extensive concert tours which took him to Italy, Austria, France, Holland and England. Moreover his path crossed that of the great Bach in 1705. That Bach might have been inspired by the brilliant performance of this master to attempt something similar seems at least plausible.

We now turn to note the rather infrequent use of the gamba by German composers who influenced Bach's musical development. Reinken in his 'Hortus Musicus' uses the gamba only as a bass to these trios. Buxtehude in his Quartet in F major provides more scope for the gambist whose part is notably more active than the continuo. There is also a short solo for the gamba, exclusively melodic in character and largely on the first string. Thus the North German tradition in Bach's day was homophonic treatment of the gamba and polyphonic or quasi-polyphonic treatment of works for unaccompanied solo violin.

The theory that Bach was following a local custom in treating the viola da gamba as a melodic instrument is weakened by a study of the Telemann Sonata for unaccompanied gamba, a work which is emphatically chordal in style. It is also interesting to note in this connection that a gamba part in the St. Matthew Passion has been preserved which differs from the printed score of the Bach Society in its use of chords. One should also bear in mind that at least one and perhaps all three of the Bach gamba sonatas are arrangements of trio sonatas in which two of the three melodic lines are assigned to the harpsichord and the third played by the gamba. The essence of the style was the development of three contrapuntal voices, and harmonic filling parts would be as inappropriate here as in the Inventions. Thus they do not provide us with as clear-cut a test of Bach's conception of the gamba as might be desired.

We arrive at our conclusion and find ourselves confronted with a curious development. We have seen the gamba continue the style of the lute. We have seen this style adopted by a certain number of violinists. Bach, however, ignores the harmonic possibilities of the

gamba, exploited though they were by Kühnel and Telemann, not improbably by the elder Abel and surely by the son, and chooses instead to apply the style to the violin and the cello. The performances of Westhoff may have suggested the works for violin. The cello works, however, seem unique, having no direct ancestors and no immediate successors. At this point the cello receives the heritage of the gamba, but not to hand it on. A possible conclusion is that Bach was himself a skilled cellist and that these works were written for his private recreation. The complete absence of similar works at the period would seem to justify such a conclusion. In any case the next generation, the generation of Bach's sons, had little taste for such music. Melodic charm, ease, piquancy were necessary to please a generation in which the compositions for solo gamba by the younger Abel appear as solitary survivals. The harmonic possibilities of the keyboard instruments drove their former rivals, the lute and the gamba, from the field. The violin without the harpsichord became unthinkable, and only in modern works which are themselves the product of the Bach cult (the Reger sonatas for solo violin, the Hindemith sonatas for solo viola) do we find reminiscences of a lost tradition.

STEFAN ZWEIG AS LIBRETTIST AND RICHARD STRAUSS—I

BY ALFRED MATHIS

THE coincidence of a series of unusual events and circumstances is responsible for the fact that Stefan Zweig's work as opera librettist has remained almost wholly unknown to the public at large. A dense veil of anonymity and privacy has so far been spread over the eminent author's entry into the domain of the musical stage and over his collaboration with Richard Strauss. Such details as may have leaked out are merely externals which have often caused wrong conclusions to be drawn.

The general impression is that after the death of Hugo von Hofmannsthal, who was for many years Strauss's friend and literary collaborator, Stefan Zweig decided to turn to opera and wrote for Strauss the libretto of 'Die schweigsame Frau', based on Ben Jonson's comedy 'Epicene, or The Silent Woman'; that even before this work was finished and could be performed National Socialism assumed the rule in Germany and interfered with any further collaboration between the "Aryan" composer Richard Strauss and the Jewish poet Stefan Zweig; that Strauss, although able to enforce the production of 'Die schweigsame Frau' with the Nazi authorities by reason of his prominent position in the Third Reich—he held the office of President of the National Socialist Music Chamber of the Reich—afterwards gave up his association with Zweig and had his next librettos, for the operas 'Der Friedenstag' and 'Daphne', written for him by the well-known Viennese theatre historian Joseph Gregor.

The clearest insight into Strauss's and Zweig's musico-dramatic workshop would doubtless be afforded by the correspondence between the poet and the composer. This important source, however, is as yet inaccessible, for a considerable number of letters from Strauss to Zweig are still at Petropolis in Brazil, where the poet voluntarily departed this life; and they have not yet been sorted and prepared for publication. The only authentic information we are reduced to for the moment is

thus the fascinating story in Zweig's recently published autobiography,¹ which deals principally with Strauss's much-debated attitude towards the Nazis in power, and so forms an interesting contribution to the question of a creative artist's spiritual responsibility to his contemporaries.

It is true that the value of this autobiography as an authentic source of information is somewhat depreciated by the author's own statement that he wrote these memoirs without the least aid to his memory. He says (p. 9) :

I am aware of the unfavourable circumstances, characteristic though they are of our time, in which I am trying to shape my reminiscences. I write them in the midst of war, in a foreign country, and without the least aids to my memory. None of my books, none of my notes, no friends' letters are at hand at my hotel room. Nowhere can I seek information, for in the whole world the mails from country to country have been hampered by censorship. . . . I have nothing more of my past with me than what I have retained in my mind. But the good art of not pining over that which is lost has been thoroughly learned by our generation, and it is quite possible that the loss of documentation and detail may actually be an advantage for my book. For I look upon our memory not as an element which accidentally retains or forgets, but rather as a consciously organizing and wisely exclusionary power. All that one forgets of one's life was long since predestined by an inner instinct to be forgotten. Only that which wills to preserve itself has the right to be preserved for others.

In order, therefore, to obtain as authentic a picture as possible of Zweig's as yet little-known work as librettist, and of his collaboration with Strauss, a picture truly representing the human and artistic aspects of the matter, we must not allow ourselves to use the autobiography as though it were a manual of cultural history summarizing the poet's experiences and perceptions with scientific objectivity. What Zweig did was to distil his recollections with the utmost care and by means of the most finely pointed language into a book of subjective confessions. The critically alert reader will not fail to become aware in many cases of what Zweig himself could not remember, or did not care to remember, and realize the reason why he may have wished to banish certain details from his mind. The more closely one studies the autobiography, the richer becomes the picture of the events described, and what is but delicately and almost imperceptibly intimated often discloses new and surprising vistas. But what he refrained from describing becomes at times a terrifying reality embodying the inimical powers of abysmal wickedness which the author, in order to deny them survival in the form of artistically fashioned language, mentioned with never a word, never a syllable.

On the very first question, how it was that the collaboration between Zweig and Strauss began, the autobiography gives us nothing more than summary information (p. 278) :

This had been my first collaboration with Richard Strauss. Ever since 'Elektra' and the 'Rosenkavalier' Hugo von Hofmannsthal had written all his opera librettos and I had never personally met Richard Strauss. After Hofmannsthal's death he notified my publisher that he wished to start on a new work and inquired whether I would be willing to write an opera libretto for him. I was fully conscious of the honour of such a request.

The only indication of time Zweig gives here is the phrase "after Hofmannsthal's death". This would mean that until July 15th 1929, the day Hofmannsthal died, he had not made Strauss's personal acquaintance, but that, on the other hand, he must have done so some time during the second half of 1929.

This is a fact of special importance, for it reveals that the idea of an adaptation of a Ben Jonson comedy for the operatic stage, if not indeed

¹ 'The World of Yesterday', p. 278 ff. (Cassell, London, 1943). The passages quoted in this study are reproduced by kind permission of the publishers and of the author's literary executors.

the actual choice of 'Epiccœne, or The Silent Woman' for the purpose, was suggested to Strauss by Zweig, and suggested as early as that. Strauss at once took to it, and there and then, at their first meeting, the two so thoroughly considered the whole plan of the libretto in a detailed and animated discussion as to reach complete understanding in the matter of this operatic project. The passage in the autobiography referring to Zweig's suggestion to write such a libretto, already quoted in part, continues thus (p. 278) :

I consented at once and at our first meeting suggested using 'The Silent Woman' by Ben Jonson as the theme for an opera, and it was a pleasant surprise to see how quickly, how clear-sighted Strauss responded to my suggestions. I had not suspected in him so alert an understanding of art, so astounding a knowledge of dramaturgy. While the nature of the material was being explained to him he was already shaping it dramatically and adjusting it astonishingly to the limits of his own abilities of which he was uncannily cognizant. I have met many great artists in my life but never one who knew how to maintain such abstract and unerring objectivity towards himself.

Here, then, we have the curious situation in which Strauss is seen to have completely settled the plan for an adaptation of Ben Jonson's comedy with Stefan Zweig three years before he actually reached the point of beginning the composition of 'Die schweigsame Frau', on October 1st 1932. This, too, decides the priority in that curiously coincidental case of another composer's decision to make use of a comedy by Ben Jonson for an opera, namely Sir Edward Elgar. The great master of English music had become interested in Jonson's 'The Devil is an Ass', which his friend Sir Barry Jackson was to adapt to the operatic stage for him. As may be gathered from the latter's informative essay entitled 'Elgar's Spanish Lady',² Elgar was greatly taken aback on finding the news in the papers that Strauss was engaged in composing a new opera entitled 'The Silent Woman' to a libretto by Stefan Zweig based on Ben Jonson's comedy of that name, for this was the very subject which had seemed to Sir Barry Jackson very much better suited to an opera than 'The Devil is an Ass'. "At first sight", says Sir Barry,

it seemed to me that 'Epiccœne, or The Silent Woman', which hinges on a definitely aural subject—Moroine's execration of noise—was the work to consider. Indeed, I strongly urged Elgar to do so; but although he spoke of his "usual ill-luck" when in February 1933 the papers announced a new opera by Richard Strauss—no other than 'Die schweigsame Frau', for the libretto of which Stefan Zweig had gone to this very play—I think he had decided finally for 'The Devil is an Ass'.

Sir Barry Jackson does not say how far he carried his plan to adapt 'Epiccœne' or whether he succeeded in persuading Elgar to favour the idea. But it is not to be thought that Elgar had been robbed of any particular artistic realization by Stefan Zweig and Richard Strauss, for in 1932, when Zweig had long finished his libretto of 'Die schweigsame Frau' and Strauss had already begun its composition, Elgar, still in search of an opera-book, turned to George Bernard Shaw—unsuccessfully, it is true. He had thus not yet finally decided at that time to set a comedy by Ben Jonson. Nor does he seem to have been discouraged from carrying out an earlier plan to use 'The Devil is an Ass' by the fact that Ben Jonson was to reach the operatic stage, for the first time with a reasonable certainty of permanent success,³ not through him, but through Zweig and Strauss. On the contrary, for Sir Barry Jackson says that it was after the publication of the news of the new Strauss opera in February 1933 that Elgar finally decided in favour of 'The Devil is an Ass'.

Zweig's information that Strauss got into touch with him and began

². 'Music & Letters', Vol. XXIV, No. 1, January 1943.

³. 'Epiccœne' had already been used at least twice: by Salieri for 'Angiolina' in 1800 and by Mark Lothar for 'Lord Spleen' as recently as 1930.

his artistic collaboration with him soon after Hofmannsthal's death, *i.e.* in 1929, is of particular interest from another point of view. For what, we are bound to ask, induced Strauss to turn to Zweig for the subject of a new opera at such an early stage, at the very time when he had only just begun the composition of the lyric comedy 'Arabella' left to him by Hofmannsthal? The situation in which Strauss found himself after the death of his old friend and collaborator, as well as the artistic and human relationship between him and Hofmannsthal, have been subjected to so many false interpretations as to give rise to similar errors about these relationships between Strauss and Zweig. A number of unfavourable conclusions were drawn concerning the composer's attitude towards the dead poet and several newspapers commented anything but favourably on it when Strauss, unlike all the other friends of the poet, failed to appear at Hofmannsthal's funeral in Vienna, and instead Frau Pauline Strauss and her son Franz represented the composer's family, explaining to the press that the master was obliged to stay at home for a cure which allowed of no interruption. This was followed by rumours that during the last few months before Hofmannsthal's death the friendship between the poet and the composer had been clouded, partly owing to differences of opinion about the shaping of 'Arabella'. Strauss was said to have very thoroughly criticized the first version of this lyric comedy, so that Hofmannsthal decided to recast it, a task which occupied him during the last months of his life. Whether he carried out this revision of 'Arabella' and thus finished the libretto to the composer's satisfaction or not, Strauss was said to have communicated immediately after his death with Stefan Zweig, who, so the tale went, undertook the final version of Hofmannsthal's 'Arabella' as well as his own new libretto of 'Die schweigsame Frau'.

This legend, without having ever been either confirmed or denied by Hofmannsthal or Zweig, much less adequately dealt with by writers on their work, took shape because at bottom there seemed actually to be some kind of truth in it. For even if Hofmannsthal did finish 'Arabella' to Strauss's satisfaction, what was the use of a dead poet's libretto, however perfect in the matter of language, to a composer whose task it was to shape it anew out of his musical imagination and to determine its musical course down to the minutest vibrations? In a spiritual sense a libretto is the fundamental inspiration actuating the composer's fancy, but in a technical sense it can never be more than raw material which has frequently to be subjected to linguistic transformations in the course of composition in order to make it conform to the exigencies of the music. For a composer will always find that certain alterations prove necessary as his work proceeds. A few more lines of verse may be needed here, a rhythmic change in the words there, and numerous new arrangements of the dialogue may be necessary anywhere, as for instance in the execution of concerted pieces planned on a large scale.

It is possible to-day to make a considerable advance in the conscientious examination of a complicated state of affairs that had been confused by so many rumours and mysteries by the publication of an original document containing the solution of the problem: the last telegram sent by Strauss to Hofmannsthal on July 15th 1929, the very day of the latter's death. In order to recognize its significance, however, it is necessary to recall the tragic circumstances in which Hofmannsthal died on that day, suddenly and unexpectedly.

The tragedy in the Hofmannsthal house at Rodaun, near Vienna, actually began on July 13th, the day on which the poet's younger son committed suicide. The shot with which Franz von Hofmannsthal ended his life produced a world-wide echo, for it was but natural that such an

event should cause an immense sensation, since it so nearly concerned a man of Hugo von Hofmannsthal's eminence. The newspapers filled columns with their reports, and the poet was forced to submit to press interviews as well as to the usual official inquiries. He gave a father's simple and profoundly affecting answer: he had always encouraged his son, approved of his plans and hoped for the best. He made no exhibition of his sorrow. Then came the day of the funeral, Monday, July 15th 1929, with an enervating south wind that shattered his nerves. He had to gather all his strength and will-power to keep up appearances. He dressed in his black mourning-clothes and went to the desk in his study, where lay a whole pile of letters of condolence, which he took up and glanced at mechanically, without reading them. His eye was caught by a telegram stamped "Garmisch-Partenkirchen". He knew that it must have come from Richard Strauss. For a moment he held it in his hand, only to put it back unopened with the other missives. In an hour when his child was to be buried, words of consolation could mean nothing to him, not even those coming from an old friend and fellow-artist. A glance at his watch told him that it was time to go to the cemetery, the funeral having been fixed for three o'clock in the afternoon. He took up his hat and went to the stairs. But at that moment he lost consciousness and sank to the ground. He was lifted on to a sofa, where he lay unconscious for five hours while the friends who had returned from his son's interment anxiously waited in the hall and garden for news of the poet's return to consciousness. But this news never came; instead, a few minutes before eight o'clock in the evening, arrived the information that he was dead.

The telegram from Strauss, left unopened by the poet because he took it to contain words of condolence, was actually a message of congratulation. Had it come to his knowledge, Hofmannsthal would have experienced the joy of knowing that the composer unreservedly approved of the libretto of their joint operatic work, 'Arabella', completed shortly before. Here is the original wording of the telegram:⁴

Erster Act ausgezeichneten Dank Glückwünsche treuergebener Strauss.

At first sight the wording of this message does not seem to warrant the assumption that the composer's words of congratulation had any great importance as referring to the completion of the 'Arabella' text *as a whole*. That it has in fact this importance only becomes evident in connection with the fact, known from an authentic source, that Strauss had accepted the second and third acts of 'Arabella' in the first and only version, as it had been previously sent to him by Hofmannsthal. It was only about the first act that the poet and the composer discovered that they had some differences of conception, differences resulting in Hofmannsthal's decision to work over this first act again and to make certain changes in it.⁵

The telegram in question was the composer's first acknowledgment of the newly revised manuscript of the first act, which had been sent off a few days earlier. It shows that Hofmannsthal had made the alterations to Strauss's complete satisfaction. The last obstacle which stood in the way of the composition of 'Arabella' had thus been removed, and it is clear that with this first-act revision Hofmannsthal had completed his work on this lyric comedy.

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egotistic and frigid disinterestedness was brought about by his absence from the poet's funeral and by the curious explanation given by his wife to the effect that he was confined to his house by a treatment which must on no account suffer any interruption. The only authentic report of the situation in which Strauss found himself when the news of Hofmannsthal's death reached him and of his state of mind during the days following the funeral will be found in my unpublished biography of Elisabeth Schumann.⁶ It gives a faithful description of the Strauss family assembled for the evening meal in the dining-room at the moment when the news of the poet's death came from Vienna to Garmisch-Partenkirchen by a telephone message to the composer's son, Dr. Franz Strauss, with the request to break the news gently to his father :

A trunk call from Vienna. A voice, speaking from Rodaun, said over the wires: "Please break the news gently to Dr. Strauss . . ." A moment later the Strauss home was shaken from top to bottom by explosions which fell upon the peaceful household with the violence of an enemy barrage. . . . The news just received seemed already of no more account than the spark which ignites the powder-barrel. The explosions burst in an unbroken series from the masterful Frau Pauline.

The same fate which ordained that the poet should die without knowing that the precious contact between himself and the composer was restored, also decreed that news of the death should reach Richard Strauss at a moment when his mind was unable to absorb it. Frau Pauline consciously caused his spiritual numbness by recourse to diversionary tactics of a most violent kind, designed to spare him the worst effects of the blow.

Overwhelmed by the appalling noise, to which there seemed to be no end; the master allowed himself to be taken to bed and to have a soporific administered to him, which mercifully benumbed him and let the raging waves of sound recede into the distance. The memory of this flight from the world of sound, bound up with the shock to which he was deliberately subjected in order to make him immune to the message of death and to prevent him from realizing the magnitude of the loss he had sustained, must have returned to him like a flash when not long afterwards Stefan Zweig proposed to him as a subject for an opera Ben Jonson's 'Epicene', with the noise-hating Morose for its central figure; for here too was the experience of an escape from sound prompted by the abomination of all noise and by a profound longing for tranquillity.

One need but imagine the different phases of this painful process, beginning with the awakening from stupor to an unnaturally cruel reality. He, of all people, was constrained to keep away from his friend's burial to avoid excitement and to do no damage to his health. More than that, during the days following the funeral he was forbidden to pronounce the dead man's name in this own house and made to suppress any sign of mourning. The cure which, according to his wife, prevented him from going to Vienna for Hofmannsthal's interment was the rigid maintenance of his accustomed composer's workaday that had been forced on him. The medicine prescribed for him was work at composition. Creative work, indeed, meant a normal condition of life for Strauss, much as it had once done for Mozart, who thus described his day's work in a letter to his father written at Mannheim and dated December 20th 1777 : "At 10 I sit down to compose until twelve or half past, then I go to Wendling's, where I write a little more until two, then we dine. . . ." Strauss's day at Garmisch-Partenkirchen took much the same course, as we may judge from Stefan Zweig's autobiography (p. 280) :

Work, as he practised it, was a quite remarkable procedure with Strauss. Nothing of the daemonic, nothing of the artist's mad exaltation, nothing of those depressions and desperations which we know from accounts of Beethoven and Wagner. Strauss

⁶ 'Elisabeth Schumann: Chronicle of a Singer's Life', written in 1938. English translation by H. Leigh Farnell (Frederick Muller, Ltd., London).

works to the point and composes like Johann Sebastian Bach, like all those sublime craftsmen of their art, quietly and systematically. At nine in the morning he sits down to resume his work just where he left off the day before, always writing the first sketch of his composition with pencil, the piano score in ink, and continues thus without pause until twelve or one o'clock. In the afternoon he plays *Skat*, a German card game, transfers two or three pages to the final score and possibly conducts an opera in the evening. He does not know what nervousness is, by day and night his artistic mind is equally alert and lucid.

It is thus by no means wholly incomprehensible that Pauline Strauss should have attempted to force work on her husband as a remedy for his pain and sorrow over the death of his friend, and that the master was capable, even in such a situation, to continue working with his accustomed skill, for all that his task was to set the libretto of 'Arabella', whereon the ink was hardly yet dry with which Hofmannsthal had scattered corrections all over the manuscript with his own hand. The tragedy of it, that the composer should have been expected to banish his friend's death from his memory in the very act of setting his lyric comedy to music! How was he, Richard Strauss, to give its final and definitive shape to Hofmannsthal's play by the warm breath of his music, if he was no longer able to communicate with the creator of this fantastic world?

What torture this solitude in his own operatic workshop must have been for Strauss was shown by his attitude on one of the days following that of Hofmannsthal's funeral. With the manuscript of 'Arabella' in his hand he suddenly appeared at the summer residence of his Garmisch neighbour, the conductor Carl Alwin, to whom the master declared that he had come to read him the libretto of the new opera. This was fraught with some difficulties, for the house was full of guests, among whom was the then intendant of the Munich State Opera, the composer Clemens von Franckenstein (a brother of the former Austrian ambassador in London, Sir George Franckenstein) and his wife. It was, of course, impossible for Strauss to read his new opera to a whole company of complete strangers; the hostess therefore agreed to suggest a lengthy walk to her visitors, so that Strauss might in the meantime read the libretto undisturbed to the Franckenstein couple and Carl Alwin. These three privileged listeners related later on how Strauss suddenly stopped in the middle of his reading and burst into a flood of tears that seemed as though it would never end. It was a fit of weeping that came from his inmost soul, a shattering outburst of sorrow over his friend's death which he had forcibly suppressed and was not allowed to give way to in his own home. It was only by taking refuge elsewhere from an atmosphere in which he was the helpless victim of imperious affection that the master could for a moment free himself and, among a small circle of intimate friends, hold his own funeral celebration for Hofmannsthal, his departed fellow-worker and friend.

By its very secretiveness this scene reveals the profound antagonism between Hofmannsthal and Pauline Strauss-de Ahna, which for more than two decades produced unending contests, with the soul of Richard Strauss for its battlefield, between creative aspiration and the worldly exigencies of everyday life subjected to Draconian rule.

* * *

The first time Hugo von Hofmannsthal's name appears in Stefan Zweig's autobiography, the author's language assumes the tone of a hymn of praise (p. 45ff) :

Above all there was one figure [among the poets of "Young Vienna" in whom the specific Austrian culture had found European expression] that fascinated, enticed, roused and captivated us, that wonderful and unique phenomenon, Hugo

von Hofmannsthal, in whom our youth saw not only its highest ambitions but also absolute poetic perfection come into being, in the person of one of its own age.

The emergence of the young Hofmannsthal is and remains remarkable as one of the great wonders of early perfection. In universal literature I know no example of anyone, with the exception of Keats and Rimbaud, who at so early an age reached a like flawless mastery of speech, such elevation of ideals, or such saturation with the substance of poetry even in the least of his random lines, as this majestic genius who in his sixteenth and seventeenth years had inscribed himself upon the eternal rolls of the German language, with verses that will not die and with a prose that has not yet been excelled in our day.

The great difference in these two writers' development, however, could not fail to reveal itself clearly at just this only point where they came into direct contact—their collaboration with Strauss. Zweig frankly admits that he was not in such close sympathy with Hofmannsthal's later work as he was with the inspired poetry written between the sixteenth and twenty-fourth years of the latter's life. He had as great an admiration, he said, for many of the later works, such as the fine essays and the fragmentary novel 'Andreas', which was among the most glorious monuments of German prose, as well as many parts of his plays; but, he hints, the exalted and dream-like quality of his youthful work was never again reached by Hofmannsthal, and the place of pure inspiration was taken by "definite consciousness" and "enormously ambitious planning" (p. 49). Nothing is said of the reasons why these projects were thwarted, nor of the significance of Hofmannsthal's work for the operatic stage.

This view of Hofmannsthal as above all a youthful lyric poet whose radiance for many years almost wholly obscured his later development is unquestionably characteristic of the whole of the older generation before the first world war, to which Stefan Zweig belonged. It was the attitude of the liberal bourgeoisie of the turn of the century, characterized thus by one of its literary representatives in Austria, Hermann Bahr: ". . . earnings become the chief aim in life, but life itself becomes a danger to be eschewed by the prudent, for it is fruitless". Art, therefore, was a game remote from life in the eyes of that generation, and its chief aims were aesthetic and formal abstractions. And it was this attitude which produced the world's neo-romantic outlook.

There is no doubt that in Hofmannsthal's earlier work this neo-romantic conception of a withdrawal from life played a considerable part. But in his case this withdrawal engendered at the same time a longing for life. It is thus significant that Hofmannsthal set at the head of a commentary on the sphere of his own world of themes and characters, entitled 'Ad me ipsum', the following words by the Christian neo-Platonist Gregor von Nyssa on the poet's nature:

He, the lover of the most exalted beauty, took that which he had already beheld for nothing more than the reflection of that which he had not yet seen, and it was this very thing, this primary image, he longed to enjoy.

It was the progress from the "reflective image", the appearance of which may be captured by words, to the "primary image", the essence of things, for the expression of which words are inadequate, that brought Hofmannsthal to a point where in the end he reached the conclusion that the element of music was an integral constituent of his poetic vision. The literary historian Joachim Krüger has shown by an extensive investigation in a valuable book⁷ how the inadequacy of words in the face of that essence of things results in a fear growing at last to torture and terror. He does this by means of an imaginary 'Letter from Lord Chandos to Francis Bacon', through which he makes Hofmannsthal

⁷ 'Hugo von Hofmannsthal und Richard Strauss: Versuch einer Deutung des künstlerischen Weges Hugo von Hofmannsthals.' (Junker & Dünnhaupt, Berlin, 1935.)

confess that he will never again be able to write a book or to be otherwise active in a literary way,

because the language in which it might be vouchsafed me, not only to write, but also to think, is neither Latin, nor English, nor Italian, nor Spanish, but a language with not one word of which I am familiar, a language in which mute things speak to me and in which, beyond the grave, I shall one day render an account of myself before an unknown judge.

"A language in which mute things speak to me . . ." : this bridge to a world of the unspeakable was at last seen and explained in its true significance in an 'Address in an Art Collector's House' held by Hofmannsthal at the Lanckoronski Palace in Vienna on May 10th 1902 : "But mute things come most vividly to life under the spell of music".

Music, which reaches beyond words into the world of the unutterable, at last entered truly into Hugo von Hofmannsthal's life and work through his meeting and collaboration with Richard Strauss. It was the impressionist element of modern psychology introduced into ancient tragedy which in 1906 prompted Strauss to set to music Hofmannsthal's poetic transformation of Sophocles's 'Electra'. The composer here found endless scope for his inborn bent for detailed and naturalistic musical description. The fiery, ecstatic music of his 'Elektra' is undoubtedly a further progress on the road opened up by Wagner and the crowning feat of the symphonic music-drama of the romantic age. An almost unsurpassable climax was here reached by the disintegration of romantic music of which signs had clearly shown themselves since the turn of the century, a disintegration expressed by means of the immensely growing importance of orchestral ways and means, the enlargement of musical forms and the loosening to the point of dissolution of tonality through extreme chromaticism. The terrible struggle between vertical and horizontal forces whose clashes seem positively to burst the structure of keys, is perhaps most clearly shown by the great orchestral outburst in the recognition scene between Orestes and Electra, immediately after the latter's cry of "Orest!"⁸ where no fewer than three different keys break out of a chromatically distorted fundamental tonic chord of F major.

There were only two ways of dealing with this crisis : either a conscious advance beyond the boundaries of tonality and involving their abolition or a return to a musical world of organized melody and form free of the excessive tensions of dissolving romantic harmony. But how was such a return to be made without falling into sterile academicism and renouncing for ever any sort of creative progress ?

What the musician could not have achieved by his own efforts he was to succeed in doing by his creative collaboration with the poet Hugo von Hofmannsthal. It was Hofmannsthal's very own idea to regain for the operatic stage the vitally important element of a clearly ordered architecture by means of a renewal of the great Austrian theatrical tradition of the eighteenth century. For the nineteenth century, dominated by Wagner and his symphonic music-drama, had lost this element. It was with the consciousness of having to fulfil this artistic mission that Hofmannsthal associated himself with Strauss and became a librettist. The correspondence between the poet and the composer shows how clear-sighted, logically and uncompromisingly Hofmannsthal pursued his aim of bringing about a different view of musical drama on the composer's part by means of his poetic outlines.

He first of all attempted to facilitate the musician's return into a world of clearly organized scenic and musical operatic forms by the choice of special subjects of an archaizing nature. The remoteness of the setting

^{8.} At cue number 144a.

and atmosphere of these opera subjects naturally suggested to the composer the use of stylistic musical elements of the past. The incursion of such melodic, harmonic and formal archaisms into Strauss's individual style resulted in a noticeable repression of descriptive and symphonic elements in favour of formal organization. Thus the work following the '*Rosenkavalier*'—'*Ariadne auf Naxos*'—was already an opera of musical numbers on an archaic basis. The richness of its mixtures, the artful welding of partly heterogeneous elements of musical style, is here inexhaustible.

Strauss having thus more or less unconsciously surrendered to Hofmannsthal's creative influence, not without instinctive reluctance in some respects, the poet led him from the atmosphere of tragic crisis in '*Elektra*' into a new and sunnier region where the qualities of Goethe's musical plays, the fantasy of the Viennese magic pantomime and the splendours of baroque drama strike a new and wonderful chord together. At the same time a change of style came noticeably into Strauss's music. His use of symphonic themes and his orchestral delineation of detail, formerly so crowded and complex, had been greatly simplified in favour of large, well-defined melodic phrases and of organized forms, but reasserted themselves in the baroque festival opera '*Die Frau ohne Schatten*', in which Hofmannsthal wished to realize the idea of a new '*Magic Flute*'. This resulted in a synthesis of older and newer ways of writing which is peculiar to '*Die Frau ohne Schatten*'. But in the following works, especially in the opera which unites baroque and antique elements, '*Die ägyptische Helena*', and in the lyric comedy of '*Arabella*' there is no mistaking the emphasis on lyricism and an inclination towards composition in organized forms and clearly defined melodic phrases. Nor does it escape notice that Strauss here restored its original importance to the voice, of which Wagner's musico-dramatic style had deprived it.

Only now, at a certain distance of time, is it possible to see how much the revival of the baroque theatre, which was the fundamental ideal of Hofmannsthal as librettist, carried out by means of many different conceptions in his collaboration with Strauss from '*Rosenkavalier*' to '*Die ägyptische Helena*', meant to him as the realization of a finer Austrian cultural style, linked with Grillparzer and in a wider sense with Calderón. The fact that it was here a question of an Austrian cultural movement, which could not fail to come into conflict with the ambition to establish a pan-German culture hegemony in Europe, has been too often overlooked, and it certainly has not yet been exhaustively studied in all its historical and sociological bearings. It is not until one contemplates certain ideological opposites and tensions at the apparently peaceful turn of the century that one becomes aware of the impressions which had the most decisive influence on young Hugo von Hofmannsthal: on the one hand there was, for instance, the work of reformation carried out at the Vienna Opera by Gustav Mahler in 1897–1907, which opened up a new phase of operatic production in Europe, and the contemporary work of Max Reinhardt as producer; on the other the pan-German artistic policy upheld at the Bayreuth festival performances directed by Cosima Wagner. It was the atmosphere of cultural war, declared by Bayreuth against Mahler because his activities had mercilessly unmasked Bayreuth's unwarranted pretensions to an "authentic Wagner tradition" by which it tried to maintain its world supremacy and its monopolizing dictatorship in all matters of Wagnerian performance.

If Mahler created a new Viennese operatic culture by his reforms, which for that period meant a fresh and unique experience of Mozart's

and Gluck's works and Beethoven's 'Fidelio', Hofmannsthal, by collaborating with the producer Max Reinhardt and the composer Richard Strauss, sought to give new life to the world theatre of the baroque period which, ranging from Italian court opera, French plays and the Jesuit stage to the Viennese popular theatre, represented a considerable aspect of Austrian culture. The achievements at the Salzburg Festival after the first world war realized, at any rate in part, what Hofmannsthal had dreamed.

In order to make the public familiar with these trends of thought, so unusual and thus so easily exposed to political misunderstandings of the worst kind, Hofmannsthal had gathered round him a small group of young writers and scholars, among whom were the two theatrical historians Max Pirker and Joseph Gregor, the authors Felix Braun and Erwin Rieger, as well as the musical historian and composer Egon Wellesz. Pirker, who unfortunately died by his own hand at an early age, demonstrated the historical foundations of Hofmannsthal's librettos down to 'Die Frau ohne Schatten' in a fine pamphlet entitled 'Rund um die Zauberflöte'.⁹ The same publishers brought out 'Der Beginn des musikalischen Barock und die Anfänge der Oper in Wien' by Wellesz, who had already done distinguished research work in baroque opera earlier and whose own musical work for the stage is indebted to Hofmannsthal's ideology and, in more than one case, to his actual collaboration. It is not difficult to recognize in the scenario of his ballet 'Achilles auf Skyros' an anonymous work by Hofmannsthal—a preliminary study for his opera 'Ariadne auf Naxos'. With his setting of Hofmannsthal's version of Euripides's 'Alkestis' Wellesz's operatic work reached its first climax. His next work, a "cult-drama" for dancers, solo singers and chorus, 'Die Opferung des Gefangenen', translated from an old Mexican text by Eduard Stucken, was published by Hofmannsthal in his 'Bremer Beiträge'. No less is Hofmannsthal's influence discernible in the choice of Goethe's operetta 'Scherz, List und Rache', set by Wellesz as a chamber opera. It was an influence which in the case of Wellesz concentrated on certain aspects of Hofmannsthal's ideology which the poet could not have hoped to work out in collaboration with Strauss.

Joseph Gregor's investigations were directed chiefly towards the baroque stage and the Spanish world theatre. As director of the theatrical collection in the Vienna National Library and professor of theatrical and costume history at Max Reinhardt's seminary in the palace theatre of Schönbrunn, as well as editor of the programme journals of the Vienna State Opera and Burg Theatre, Gregor was in close touch with the active world of the stage, so that the institution directed by him developed into a veritable home for scholars and artists interested in research and new ideas. Here playwrights and writers on the drama gained access to the secret and undiscovered subjects of the world literature of ancient or distant spheres of the stage.

How much Stefan Zweig too was at home there may be gathered from a remark in his autobiography, where he mentions the dispersal of his precious collection (p. 268):

When Hitler's day set in and I left my home, the pleasure of collecting was gone and also the certainty of being able to preserve anything lastingly. For a while I kept parts of it in safes and with friends, but then I decided, remembering Goethe's admonition, that museums, collections, and arsenals grow numb if they be not constantly developed, rather to say good-bye to a collection to which I could no longer devote creative effort. One section I gave by way of farewell to the National Library of Vienna. . . .

⁹ Wiener Literarische Anstalt.

In 1933 Gregor published a 'World History of the Stage',¹⁰ where he pays a thinly disguised tribute to the joint work of Max Reinhardt and Hugo von Hofmannsthal as a revival of that of Calderón. He says of Reinhardt (p. 693) :

Not since Calderón received the cloak of a Knight of Santiago at the hands of Philip IV had anyone reached such heights in the theatre.

True, Gregor reveals nothing of Hofmannsthal's development, which had in part been considerably influenced by his education at the Jesuit monastery of Kalksburg. For at the time that Gregor himself undertook to adapt a piece of Jesuit theatre, Biedermann's 'Xenodoxus', for the Burg Theatre, Hofmannsthal and Reinhardt had long won world-wide fame with the performances of 'Jedermann' (an adaptation of the fifteenth-century English morality play) in front of Salzburg cathedral and had, as it were, re-erected the scaffolding of the old *rappresentazione* at the collegiate church there for their poetic revival of Calderón's 'La vida es sueño' under the title of 'Das grosse Salzburger Welttheater'. Nobody, however, was able to describe with greater knowledge and sensitiveness the mysterious creative processes in Hofmannsthal as dramatist and librettist than Max Pirker and Joseph Gregor, who had learnt in their dealings with him to understand the greater and smaller dramatic works in the world literature of ancient times and remote cultures as a living dramatic art appealing to all the senses, whose elements had only to be brought home and set under a new light in order to reveal their indestructible force and their validity for the stage of our own time.

* * *

Although Stefan Zweig had for many years been in touch with Joseph Gregor and his school of dramatic scholarship, the suggestion to consider the work of Ben Jonson did not come to him from that direction. The autobiography throws some light on the origin of the free adaptation of the English master's 'Volpone', with which Zweig made such a success on the German stage. It is characteristic of his modesty and reticence that he should have been quite surprised and not a little disquieted by his own success and that he should tell us no more of his discovery of Ben Jonson and his adaptation of 'Volpone' than that it arose from a sketch for a translation of the comedy made by him at Marseilles. He sent this for perusal to the State Theatre at Dresden, with the observation that it was to be regarded as nothing more than a scenario and that he was thinking of a proper adaptation of 'Volpone' in verse for the German stage. Would the theatre, he added, just say whether or not the subject was of any interest at all. "But the theatre telegraphed back immediately", he continues (p. 242) "saying for the love of heaven not to change a thing; and surely enough that version of the play has been produced all over the world".

What Zweig does not mention here at all is the singular fact that it was not the original text of 'Volpone', or even a translation of it, which he saw at Marseilles when he made that "free adaptation" in what he thought of as merely a preliminary sketch. He was then working on the sources for a work on a French subject at the Marseilles library when, by a mere accident, the famous standard work by J. J. Jusserand, 'Histoire littéraire du peuple anglais', fell into his hands, in the second volume of which there is a detailed outline of the scenic contents of 'Volpone'. It was this synopsis that sufficed to let the action of the comedy take shape in his imagination so vividly that he wrote down the play at one sitting.

This incident had thrown so searching a light on the comedy, and on

¹⁰ Joseph Gregor, 'Weltgeschichte des Theaters' (Phaidon—Verlag, Zürich, 1933).

the figure of an English poet who was utterly unknown to the German stage of the twentieth century, that Zweig could not help becoming interested in Ben Jonson himself and in his work in general. Closer research showed that after all Jonson was not such a stranger to German culture as the modern situation seemed to indicate, and that there was a large German Jonson literature of which the beginning went back to the eighteenth century. As early as 1765 H. W. Gerstenberg in his book 'Die Braut.¹¹ Eine Tragödie von Beaumont und Fletcher. Nebst kritischen und biographischen Abhandlungen über die vier grössten Dichter des britischen Theaters' translated into German the introduction to the Ben Jonson edition published in London in 1761 by the Oxford scholar Peter Whalley. This publication was followed in 1771 by an original essay on Jonson by Gerstenberg, together with specimens of a translation of 'Epicœne'.

Later German experts on the English theatre, including above all such men as H. Lüdecke, H. Staenger and W. Fischer, are not quite clear whether it was Gerstenberg's publications which already suggested the study of Ben Jonson to the greatest among them, Ludwig Tieck, who both as poet and as scholar performed the most remarkable feats in disseminating Shakespeare and English poetry in general in German cultural environments. It is regarded as more likely that Tieck was induced to study Ben Jonson by the circle of admirers of English literature at Brunswick and Göttingen, which he did not join until 1792. According to Lüdecke¹² Tieck came to know Jonson's work at Göttingen in 1793 through Eschenburg, who not only put him in possession of the fourth Shakespeare folio of 1685, but also of the valuable Ben Jonson edition of 1692, in place of the Whalley edition, which was then out of print. This was followed by labours of investigation of rare industry and of an almost unimaginable thoroughness, separate phases of which have been most vividly described by Fischer.¹³ Tieck copied the whole of Whalley's notes and referred to the pagination of this copy, which numbered over 900 pages, in his Ben Jonson edition. At that time (1793) Tieck also adapted 'Volpone' for the German stage, but this transcription did not appear until 1798 in Berlin, under the title of 'Ein Schurke über den andern, oder Die Fuchspresse' ('One Scoundrel beating another, or Tossing the Fox').

As Fischer and Lüdecke agree in reporting, Tieck at that time planned a large work on the English stage contemporary with Shakespeare. In it the German public was to be presented for the first time with Ben Jonson's works as well as that of the most important representatives of the Elizabethan stage, "partly in translation and partly in extracts or free adaptations". Fromme of Jena published in 1800, as part of the preliminary studies for this work, a 'Poetisches Journal', Parts I and II, edited by Tieck. Part II contains the first complete German translation of Ben Jonson's comedy 'Epicœne, or The Silent Woman' under the title of 'Epicœne, oder Das stumme Mädchen'.

The third part of this 'Poetic Journal' was to contain an essay on Ben Jonson by Tieck; it never appeared, however, and Tieck's great work on the English theatre next to Shakespeare remained an unrealized project. For he was now confronted with the task which was to form the most important part of his life-work—the collaboration with Schlegel at the German translation of Shakespeare.

Although it was long supposed that Tieck had ceased by 1800 to do

11. 'The Maid's Tragedy'.

12. H. Lüdecke, 'Ludwig Tieck und das englische Theater' (Frankfort, 1922).

13. W. Fischer, 'Zu Ludwig Tiecks elisabethanischen Schriften: Tieck als Ben Jonson-Philologe' ('Shakespeare-Jahrbuch', Vol. 62, published by the German Shakespeare Society, Leipzig, 1926).

any systematic work on Ben Jonson, Fischer has proved that his studies were very much more far-reaching, and this in spite of the fact that Wolf, Count Baudissin also began to work on this subject and in 1836 published a book, 'Ben Jonson und seine Schule', with translations of the comedies 'The Alchemist' and 'The Devil is an Ass', dedicated, significantly enough, to Tieck himself. Evidence for this may be found in the two Ben Jonson editions from Tieck's library acquired by the British Museum in 1849 through the house of A. Asher & Co., books containing a large number of manuscript notes in Tieck's hand. They are the folio edition of 1692 already mentioned¹⁴ and the Gifford edition in nine volumes published in 1816.¹⁵

On the last page of the folio edition of 1692 is a note in Tieck's hand which gives a clue to his method of work and to his marginal notes in the Gifford edition :

This edition has been in my possession ever since the autumn of 1793; Eschenburg had sent for it to London for me, together with other English books. The Whalley edition was out of print and not to be had even of second-hand dealers: I therefore copied this editor's notes at Göttingen, and it is to the pagination of this copy that my Arabic figures refer. Later, about the year 1815¹⁶, having been unable to obtain the Gifford edition, I made a brief extract of that editor's annotations, which are those marked G. All the other passages underlined, elucidated and accompanied by notes represent my own work, discovery, explanation or hypothesis, and these annotations date from the years 1799 to 1817; in which year I bought the Gifford edition in London.

L. Tieck.

The first volume of Tieck's copy of the Gifford edition bears the following manuscript note on the back of the first end-paper :

This work was purchased by me in London in 1817 for six guineas.
Tieck.

W. Fischer, who thoroughly investigates Tieck's manuscript annotations,¹⁷ draws attention to the fact that the entries in the Gifford edition acquired at this later date represent "the greater part of the critical remarks assembled in the folio edition, some with supplementary notes". Since Fischer was able to make a scientific study of only a small part of Tieck's manuscript marginal notes at the British Museum, it follows that these two editions must contain a good deal of material as yet unknown.

That Tieck attached particular importance to his translation of 'Epicoene' published in the 'Poetic Journal' is shown by the fact that he undertook yet another version of this play. In this second version it appeared in 1829, in the twelfth volume of Ludwig's Tieck's collected writings, under the title of 'Epicoene, oder das stille Frauenzimmer'.

¹⁴. British Museum press-mark C. 61. f. 1.

¹⁵. B.M. press-mark 117771. f. 4.

¹⁶. Fischer's note: "Error on Tieck's part, for the Gifford edition did not appear until 1816".

¹⁷. *Op. cit., passim.*

(To be concluded)

‘BASTIEN AND BASTIENNE’ ONCE MORE

BY ALFRED LOEWENBERG

READERS of 'Music & Letters' may remember a note I contributed to these pages nearly two years ago.¹ It dealt with the relationship between Mozart's youthful operetta, 'Bastien und Bastienne', and its immediate predecessor, the German version of Favart's vaudeville 'Les Amours de Bastien et Bastienne'. Mozart's work is supposed to have been commissioned by Dr. Anton Mesmer, the famous physician, in 1768, and

¹. Vol. XXIII, No. 4, October 1942.

was performed at his private garden theatre in a fashionable suburb of Vienna in the autumn of that year. There is, however, no first-hand account of that performance.

The German "vaudeville", the same libretto as set by Mozart, had been produced four years earlier, at the Vienna Kärntnertor Theatre on May 5th 1764. Its authors were the actors F. W. Weiskern and J. H. F. Müller (the latter's share consisting of a few lyrics only) and the music used was partly drawn from the French original, partly—six songs and probably the arrangement and orchestration of the whole—newly written by some local composer whose name, I ventured to write, "we shall probably never know for certain". However, I think I am now in a position to supply the name of that elusive composer; but I certainly would not have made this minor discovery the subject of another article were it not for the fact that it throws, at the same time, a new beam of light on the origin of Mozart's little work.

'Bastien und Bastienne' is the perfect children's operetta, for an audience as well as for a cast of children. At its first London production, at Daly's Theatre, on Boxing Day 1894, Mozart's work was introduced to English children in the same bill with 'Hänsel und Gretel'. In Germany and Austria, in pre-Hitlerjugend days, it was a favourite choice for performances in schools and at family parties (when the beard of the soothsayer Colas naturally was one of the most prominent and exciting features of the show). Goethe at the age of ten saw the French original performed by children at his native Frankfort, and many years later, in his autobiography, 'Dichtung und Wahrheit', he recalled the "bebänderten Buben und Mädchen"—the beribboned boys and girls—and their movements. The Weiskern version at Vienna was performed by adults; but it soon passed into the repertory of one of those professional children's companies which were a characteristic if not altogether pleasant speciality of theatrical life in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The company in question was in its time rather famous. Founded by the young actor Felix Berner in 1761, it travelled for more than twenty-five years all over Central Europe, from Switzerland and Alsace as far east as Hungary, and from the Main as far south as the coast of Dalmatia. All the actors, singers and dancers were children from the age of 5 (!) onwards, guided and supported by a few grown-up members, such as the ballet master and the musical director. In the beginning there were six girls and four boys; later on the number of children increased to over thirty; some of them stayed with the company as long as ten years. They started by acting little comedies and afterpieces as well as short ballets and pantomimes. The first musical piece—it was Haydn's 'Der neue krumme Teufel'—was produced in 1765. The scope of the repertory widened from year to year, plays by Lessing, Goethe and Schiller and all the current operas of the time were added, regardless of bass clefs in the vocal parts. About 1780 they even attempted 'Hamlet'; but by this time the company had lost its original status and had become one of young actors rather than of children.

About the history and activities of the Berner enterprise we are unusually well informed by means of a little book called 'Nachricht von der Bernerischen jungen Schauspieler Gesellschaft' which was published anonymously, no doubt for publicity purposes, in 1782 and again in 1784 and 1786. The author, one Franz Xaver Garnier, was a member of the company, and he compiled his record from Berner's diary notes, aided as he says by a student from Erlangen—and some help he certainly must have needed, as he wrote the little pamphlet at the mature age of

thirteen. His authorship is disclosed only in the third edition. The 'Nachricht' is extremely rare, and it is very doubtful whether a single copy can be located in any English library. The more important parts of the book, however, the repertory and the itinerary of the troupe, have been made available in a recent German publication² where a faithful rendering of its contents, in the case of the repertory practically amounting to a reprint, is given.

From it we learn that in the course of twenty-five years there were performed over 50 tragedies, 130 comedies and afterpieces and about 170 ballets and pantomimes. Our interest naturally turns to the imposing list of more than 80 musical pieces, divided into operas "with French or Italian music" and German original operettas, all neatly set out with titles, authors and composers (but not with dates of production). The list is an interesting document in many respects. It helps us to establish some new facts, to assign several hitherto anonymous titles to their rightful authors, and it introduces a few completely unknown composers into the backyard of musical history, mostly "Chor-repetiteurs" of the company itself who contributed to the repertory, such as Palma, Sias, Santpichler, Bunzenberger and others.

Among the German operettas we meet an old acquaintance: 'Bastienne' *verdeutscht* by Weiskern, music by Savio. Who was Savio? Although not quite as obscure as Messrs. Santpichler and Bunzenberger, he has escaped the nets of the lexicographers, Gerber, Eitner and all the rest. Johann Baptist Savio—did he hail from Italy?—was musical director at Prague in 1764 when the theatre there was run by Johann Joseph von Brunian. In that year he went with Brunian's company to Brno, and then to Graz, where they stayed until Easter 1768, with occasional excursions to Vienna. From Graz Brunian returned to Prague when a new composer, the better-known Franz Andreas Holly, took over the duties of musical director. Savio either died or retired shortly after 1768—his name is not heard of any more. From the scanty biographical facts available³ there appears to be no reasonable doubt that the ascription in the Berner list is correct and that Savio was indeed responsible for the new airs in the Vienna 'Bastienne' of 1764. He probably stayed at Vienna for a short time on his way to Graz. There are three or four other operettas attributed to him in various sources. Needless to add that not a single note of his music is known to be extant.

From the itinerary of the Berner company (as reported by Garnier year by year) it appears that the theatrical children visited Salzburg for the first time in December 1766. They arrived on the 21st, were presented to the archbishop the next day⁴ and began their season at the town-hall on the following 9th of January. After the middle of February they left for Berchtesgaden and Innsbruck. Exactly three weeks before them another party had arrived at Salzburg: on November 30th 1766, after an absence of three years and a half, the Mozart family had returned from their great tour, in high spirits as we may suppose, their ears still ringing with the applause of the European capitals and their pockets full of ducats, *louis-d'ors* and guineas.

Is it too fanciful to conjecture that young Mozart's first acquaintance with Weiskern's (and Savio's) operetta dates from these weeks in January and February 1767? The assumption rests on two premisses neither of which can be established with more than a high degree of

² Gertraude Dieke, 'Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters' (Emden, 1934).

³ See the obituary of Brunian in the 'Berliner Theater und Literatur-Zeitung', 1781. See also the theatrical histories of the towns in question, and A. J. Hammerle, 'Neue Beiträge für Salzburgische Geschichte, Literatur und Musik', 1877.

⁴ As recorded in the Salzburg 'Hof-Diarium' of December 22nd.

probability. Did the Berner children perform 'Bastienne' at Salzburg? And if so, was Mozart among the spectators? Garnier's itinerary offers no help. As a rule he mentions only the first and the last play of each season and specifies command performances, benefits and so on. Nor are there any advertisements or play-bills extant—or else the local historians would have unearthed them long ago. We should, however, remember that Berner had just taken up musical pieces as a "new line" in 1765. That they formed indeed part of his Salzburg repertory is proved by the entry in the itinerary that on February 8th an operetta called 'The boastful Spaniard' (with music by Palma, the first conductor of the company) was given before the archbishop and his court. It also ought to be considered that at that time the German *Singspiel* movement was in its earliest beginnings. There was only a very small stock of pieces to draw from, and in Garnier's list of over eighty not more than half a dozen or so can be dated earlier than 1766, the Viennese 'Bastienne' of 1764 being one of them. We may therefore assume that besides Palma's 'The boastful Spaniard' Haydn's 'Der neue krumme Teufel', Savio's 'Bastienne' and a few other operettas of recent Prague and Vienna origin constituted the musical repertory of the troupe.

Of Mozart's life at Salzburg in 1766-67 we know very little, hardly more in fact than can be inferred from the music he wrote during that period (Köchel Nos. 34-41, which include his first dramatic works, 'Die Schuldigkeit des ersten Gebotes' and 'Apollo et Hyacinthus'). Not a single letter of that period is known—perhaps there never existed one, as for once the whole family was united and at home. Nor are there diaries or any other biographical documents apart from some few more or less well authenticated anecdotes. Life at Salzburg in December must have seemed pretty dull, especially so to the Mozarts who had just returned from the excitements of the great cities, and the arrival of the Berner company at a small town which had no regular theatre and was, at that time, not too frequently visited by travelling players must have been regarded as a very welcome change from daily routine. Would not even the ordinary burgher of Salzburg have made the most of this rare Carnival treat, so admirably suited to the children's taste? But in the case of young Mozart visits to the theatre were not a mere pleasure: they were part and parcel of his musical education, and viewed so by his father. As far as we know this was the boy's first opportunity to hear musical plays sung in his native tongue. So I beg to submit that Mozart frequently went to see the Berner children's productions and soon knew their little repertory by heart; that he liked Weiskern's vaudeville, but thought little of Savio's tunes, anticipating, as it were, Beethoven's apocryphal saying about Paer's 'Leonora'; that he procured a copy of the libretto then (and not the following year in Vienna) and, some time after the company's departure, began his own setting and as likely as not even finished or nearly finished the score before starting on his journey to Vienna in September 1767. Abert (Vol. I, p. 97) tells us—on whose authority?—that during those months Mozart intended to write an opera and have it performed by his friends at Salzburg, a little story which in this connection assume a certain significance.

Now it should be kept in mind that 'Bastien und Bastienne' bears the old Köchel No. 50, followed and not preceded by 'La finta semplice', K. 51. The same order is given by Gerber ('Neues Lexikon', 1813) and still earlier, in the very year 1768, in Leopold Mozart's 'Verzeichnis alles desjenigen was dieser 12jährige Knab seit seinem 7ten Jahre componiert, und in originali kann aufgezeigt werden' (manuscript in the Paris Conservatoire). Abert and Einstein, who printed the 'Verzeichnis', at

the same time reversed the order, on purely negative evidence. We know all about the composition and frustrated performance of 'La finta semplice', not only from Leopold Mozart's 'Species facti', but also from his letters to Lorenz Hagenauer at Salzburg. There are twenty of them, from September 22nd 1767 to September 24th 1768, covering each month of that period. As they contain not a single reference to 'Bastien und Bastienne', and as there follows a gap in the correspondence from September 24th to November 12th, the conclusion was drawn that not only the performance at Dr. Mesmer's (first mentioned in Nissen's biography as late as 1828), but also the commission and composition of the operetta must have taken place some time between these dates.

As far as the performance is concerned, we must, *faute de mieux*, accept this, not without some hesitation and a slight shiver in memory of the audience at that garden theatre in mid-October. But as regards the purely hypothetical "commission" and the composition—suppose Mozart had brought the score, or part of the score, from Salzburg and had shown it some day to Mesmer, who thought it just the right thing for his circle of musical amateurs and wanted to put it on at once. The necessary preparations, writing out of the parts and some rehearsals could indeed have been achieved within the space of three or four weeks. Thus Leopold Mozart's silence could be more easily explained: if 'Bastien und Bastienne' were a Salzburg product, Hagenauer naturally would know all about it and be aware of the fact that the Mozarts had taken the score with them to Vienna.

Exactly the same conclusion was reached by Wyzewa and Saint-Foix⁵ as early as 1912. They started, however, from different points, and as one of their arguments—Nissen's claim that the Salzburg trumpeter Schachtner was the author of the libretto—proved to be wrong, their conclusion was rejected by Abert and Einstein. In the light of the new facts given here the question of priority should be reconsidered and the traditional order reinstated.

Before we take our final leave of the Berner company, it may be put on record that they visited Salzburg for the second and last time in 1774 and stayed from October to December. Again their season coincided with one of the short periods Mozart spent at his home town. True, he left on December 6th in order to produce 'La finta giardiniera' at Munich. But if he felt so inclined, he had just time to attend the Berners' command performance before the archbishop on November 24th. Was it not even his duty to be present now that he had been for some years *Konzertmeister* to His Grace? We may presume that in fact he did attend, as the play chosen probably interested him. In Garnier's itinerary we are told its title: 'Bastien und Bastienne'! Was this once more the old Savio setting?

It is certainly curious to see how this little piece continues to turn up throughout Mozart's life just where he happened to be himself. The years from 1781 to 1786 Mozart spent mostly at Vienna. During that period fourteen performances of 'Bastien und Bastienne' were given at the suburban Leopoldstadt Theatre, in an anonymous (and therefore perhaps again the traditional) setting. It was shelved there for four years, but revived in 1790, with new music by Ferdinand Kauer, who later became famous as the composer of the popular 'Donauweibchen'. 'Bastien und Bastienne' was the second of well over 100 works of his for the stage, and the first night at the Leopoldstadt was on August 18th 1790, just about the time when Mozart was busy—not very busy—contributing to a production at the rival Theater auf der Wieden.

⁵. Vol. I, p. 237-238.

This brings me to a little postscript I should like to add to my note on 'Early Biographical Accounts of Mozart'.⁶ Pierre-Louis Ginguené, in his review of C. F. Cramer's 'Anecdotes sur W. T.⁷ Mozart' (Paris, 1801), mentions amongst Mozart's best-known operas 'La Pierre philosophale'. As no correspondent pointed out what should have been clear to me at the time of my comment, "I wonder what he meant by it", it may be stated now that the work in question obviously is 'Der Stein der Weisen' ('The Philosophers' Stone'), produced at the Vienna Theater auf der Wieden one year before 'The Magic Flute', on September 11th 1790, the libretto by Schikaneder, the music by different composers. Mozart contributed (or merely orchestrated?) the comic duet "Nun liebes Weibchen, ziehst mit mir" (Köchel 625 = new number 592a; see Köchel-Einstein, p. 756).

The score of this opera has been preserved. Eitner places it where nobody would look for it, namely under "Gerl", and quotes the title of the manuscript as 'Der Stein der Weisen, eine grosse heroische komische Oper in zweien Aufzügen von Em. Schikaneder, in Musik gebracht von Mozart, Henneberg, Schack und Gerl'. From this title it would indeed appear as if Mozart's share was not limited to one duet only. Has this score ever been properly examined as to the distribution of the numbers amongst the four composers? Apparently not. It remains curious that a French littérateur, as early as 1801, should have had any knowledge of this obscure pasticcio at all.

⁶ 'Music & Letters', Vol. XXIV, No. 2, April 1943.
⁷ Théophile = Amadeus.

THERAPEUTIC QUALITIES OF MUSIC

BY B. BELLAMY GARDNER

BEFORE I delve into the success of music as a medicinal agent, it might be well to define the word therapy. According to Webster, therapeutics, or therapy when used in compounds, is that part of medicine which respects the discovery and application of remedies for diseases. Music is the medium in which we are interested at the moment.

It is by no means a recent discovery that music can be used successfully for partly or wholly curing various ailments. Probably the first written observation on the influence of music on the human body is that mentioned in the Egyptian medical papyri, discovered at Kahûm by Petrie, in 1889, and dating back to about 2500 B.C. The reference is to the incantation of music which was supposed to have a favourable influence on the fertility of women. Later Homer wrote that music stopped haemorrhage in Ulysses. There is the classic story in the Bible of David playing to mad King Saul :

When the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, then David took a harp and played with his hands. So Saul was refreshed and well, and the evil spirit departed from him.

Music was employed with beneficial effect from the earliest times. Martinus tells us that fevers died away when he sang. Aesculapius is supposed to have cured deafness by sounding a horn. Plutarch informs us that Thelates stopped the plague in Lacedaemonia by playing upon his lyre. Sciatica too was calmed by the Phrygian pipe. Timotheus, who skilfully played the lyre, brought back reason to Alexander the Great,

in much the same way as Farinelli cured mad King Philip of Spain by singing to him.

There are many more examples from ancient history of the astonishing therapeutic powers of music, but we will leave them and advance to the Elizabethan era where, by glancing through the writings of some of the authors of the day, we can see that music still held its own in the field of medicine.

An example occurs in Spenser's 'Faerie Queene' on the treatment of the wounded knight :

And all the while, most heavenly melody
About the bed sweete musicke did divide,
Him to beguile of grief and agony.

(Bk. I. Cant. v. St. 17.)

There are numerous allusions in Shakespeare's works, but one example will be sufficient here :

Preposterous ass, that never read so far
To know the cause why music was ordained !
Was it not to refresh the mind of man,
After his studies or his usual pain ?

(Shrew, III, i, 9-12.)

The belief in music therapy was so great about this time that a book entitled 'Magis Universalis Naturae et Artis' was published in England. This contained bars of music that were reputed to cure persons bitten by a tarantula.

As the years went on the powers of music received even greater attention and began to be appreciated by the most casual observers. We have seen how the great men of the old world looked upon music. Let us now see what was thought about it in the last century.

It has been said that Napoleon attributed his Russian defeat to the Red Army music, which so inspired the Muscovites that they managed to wipe out the best regiments of the French army. The noted Russian doctor, Dr. Bekhnisky, found that Chopin's waltzes were most satisfactory for sleeplessness. Dr. Ewing Hunter proved how beneficial was the effect of music for sufferers from pain and insomnia. Dr. Herbert Dixon corroborated Hunter's statements and found that quick, sprightly music suited those patients with slow circulation, whereas soothing music gave relief from night-terrors and insomnia.

This brief survey of the history of music therapy brings us up to the present day. The reader may have noted that in the main music was used to bring about the relief of temporary insanity. Has music therapy advanced beyond the stage of soothing troubled minds ? Can it cure absolutely, or is it only a temporary measure ? Has it any effect on skin diseases or any malady not primarily associated with mental disturbances ?

The most important of these questions, and the one I will deal with first is that which asks whether music has any influence on ailments beyond those connected primarily with the mind.

The greatest success undoubtedly is in the treatment of mental complaints. It is often thought by the layman that when a person becomes "mental" that person has lost his reasoning powers. From actual records it can be shown that in most cases the difficulty is an emotional one—not intellectual. The person is quite normal except when his thoughts touch upon the particular emotional subject. To calm down this emotion the therapist must obtain the patient's confidence, and to do this he must possess an immense personality together with a good

knowledge of music. He must be able to make the patient join in the group-singing, play an instrument or concentrate on the music itself.

It is important to know exactly the type of music to suit each ailment. Nervous complaints generally obtain great benefit from military marches and other stirring tunes of that nature. The soldier who has been on a long route march, is greatly fatigued, and whose nerves are "on edge", will immediately brace up and appear much refreshed when the band strikes up with a march. It is much the same with anyone suffering from "nerves".

Mental cases can be divided into two classes—the elder and younger generations. The tendency among the more elderly patients is to get together and sing such songs as 'Home, Sweet Home' and 'Annie Laurie'. These are in a slow tempo, and the therapist gradually works up to something lively, such as 'Funiculì, funiculà !' Hymns also seem to be most popular with this type, and the therapist uses the same procedure, trying to work the patients up to something with a fairly fast rhythm, so that they may be able to release some of their pent-up emotions. Weeping is one of the most common occurrences, especially during group-singing.

In the case of the younger mental inmates it is usual to start with a fast rhythmic song or tune and to work down to something quiet, although Beethoven's 'The Heavens Resound', which is most vigorous, is often found suitable. The patient is able to release his emotions through group singing most effectively.

Before going farther it will be necessary to consider briefly what the process is which takes place in our nervous systems when we are enjoying music. The reader will have noticed that a state of emotion is produced and nerve force consequently liberated, the general result being a feeling of pleasure. When an excess of nerve force is produced there is a suffusion of the eyes with tears or the sensation of a thrill running down the back: both these are quite usual results of "the effects of music". A Russian doctor, Dogiel, made a study of the physiological effects of music, and he concluded that

- (1) Music influences the circulation of the blood;
- (2) The pressure of the blood sometimes rises and sometimes falls;
- (3) The frequency of the heart beat is usually increased when musical tones are produced;
- (4) The variations of the circulation coincide with changes of breathing while music is being played;
- (5) The variations of the blood pressure depend on the pitch, loudness and tone of the music;
- (6) When the blood pressure varies the peculiarities of the individual are accentuated.

When the blood pressure is great a larger supply of blood is sent through the body. This gives warmth and nutrition to the body, and therefore greatly helps to restore the individual to health.

On July 21st 1891 the Guild of St. Cecilia was formed. This guild made an object of providing music in illness. Trials were made and the results showed that "calmness of mind, alleviation of pain and sleep" were induced. This was exactly what had been wanted to prove that music was of great use in medicine.

Dr. Raw, senior house-surgeon at the Bolton Infirmary, said in 1892:

The music is never distasteful to the patients; they all look forward to it with great delight, especially to vocal music, and amongst instruments, I have noticed that the violin, when well played, has the most soothing effect. I carefully observed

last week a patient suffering great agony, and he said the music was a solace to him. The patients invariably prefer quiet music. I must say that I have never in my experience heard a patient object to any form of music; if it doesn't console them it certainly never irritates them.

Mental cases, then, can be treated satisfactorily by music. The results show that whilst all patients derive mental rest and quietude from the music, some obtain complete recovery.

The other question was whether music had any influence on ailments not principally connected with the mind. There have been many experiments using music on other maladies, but though a few successful cases have been reported, which bear out the ancient history of music therapy as practised by the old-world physicians, it must be admitted that it has been generally unsuccessful up to the present time for total cures.

Music is used, however, to a great extent in occupational therapy. If the patients take up an instrument, or take part in singing, various defects can be remedied quite easily. It is fairly well known that people suffering from such speech disabilities as stammering and stuttering are able to sing a song without showing this defect. Cases of people who were mute—apart from coughing—have had their speech restored by coughing in unison with some tune, and gradually finding that they could hum that tune. Speech came soon afterwards.

The reader will know that the art of singing consists in the control of the breath and the proper management of its mode of escape through the mouth and nose. The teaching of singing, by inculcating the habit of breathing through the nose and fully expanding the lung, therefore serves as a health restorative in convalescent lung cases, whether due to disease, industrial or war causes, such as "gassing". Moreover, singing, by producing an individual and collective sense of joy and well-being, promotes digestion and nutrition, thereby aiding convalescence of all forms of mental and bodily disease.

The passages in the nose are so constructed as to filter the air when one "breathes in". When singing, the habit of breathing through the nose should be performed regularly, so that the liability to acute and chronic catarrhal affections of the bronchial tubes and lungs caused by the entrance of irritant particles and germs of disease are brought to a minimum.

Learning to play a musical instrument is of great value in occupational therapy. Patients who are trying to recover the use of their hands find that playing an instrument is an interesting and amusing method, without bringing in any of the dullness which usually attends routine exercises for the muscles. The most popular instruments taken up are the piano, violin and oboe. Most occupational therapy centres are able to form their own bands or orchestras, some of which attain a remarkable degree of perfection over the "not-too-difficult" classical pieces. Sometimes the orchestras go out to play in public places, thus giving their members self-confidence and pride. A very useful point worth mentioning is that those who have had to enter the therapy centre and perhaps lost their jobs in the bargain, are able to look with confidence to the time when they will be discharged from the establishment, knowing that even if they are unable to get a job similar to their previous employment they have an alternative card up their sleeve—that of being able to play a musical instrument competently.

Patients with orthopaedic troubles also find that music is a great relief. If exercises have to be taken to bring back foot muscles there are special pieces of music carefully graded with the exercises which alleviate

the dreariness of an ordinary exercise. The most important point in occupational therapy is to keep the patient interested. If the patient loses interest, the exercises fail. No one gets bored with music, providing it has variety, and that is why it is of such immense value to medicine. An everyday example of the success of music in attracting people's attention and interest is afforded by the stirring effect of the Salvation Army band as it marches through towns and villages, collecting people by its appeal to the emotions and its contagion of enthusiasm, vivifying a religion for those who would otherwise never have come under its influence.

It is indeed unfortunate that even now not enough notice is being taken in this country of the tremendous advantages music has over many other therapeutics. America is once again taking the lead—in fact Dr. J. A. McGlinn wrote an article in 1930 to the 'American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology' stating that he was using music in the operating theatre, partly for lulling the senses and producing sleep, and partly to cover up the noise of surgical instruments being moved—an alarming and fearful sound to the patient.

Music is of great value to us as a therapeutic agent, as I trust I have shown, and although as such it has been known and practised for thousands of years, it is yet in its infancy. Great strides have been taken in the last century, but greater advances will be made. Music will receive much attention from the medicos—the attention it so rightly deserves.

May it not be said of music what Sir John Lubbock said of nature?—"When sombre, or even gloomy, it is soothing and consoling; when bright and beautiful, it not only raises the spirits, but inspires and elevates our whole being".

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Psychology for Musicians. By Percy C. Buck. pp. 115. (Oxford University Press, 1944.) 7s. 6d.

There was a time when all knowledge was included in philosophy. From the time of Aristotle onwards separate studies have been breaking off, and those who pursue them have had to become specialists. All the same, every subject is part of a wider system of knowledge and has connexions with other branches of knowledge. At present the natural groupings are into humanity, art and natural science. Psychology, which was once closely associated with logic and ethics in the now more limited study of philosophy proper, has recently attempted to cross over into the scientific camp. But like economics, which has followed the same tendency, it can never qualify as a true science because its subject-matter is humanistic and its method not purely scientific.

The psychology discussed in this wise book, which is addressed to music teachers rather than to musicians, is the old humanistic psychology, not the scientific kind that works with tests of ability and psycho-galvanometers, nor of the analytical kind whose province is the abnormal. It is not merely the mellow wisdom that informs this untechnical book that earns for it the epithet philosophical, but its conjunction of logic and psychology, such as formed part of the Platonic tradition of philosophy taught at the older universities. The book's value is its infusion of this humanistic tradition into musical education. It focuses more sharply upon music's special subject-matter the humane psychology taught by William James. Its author is not likely to repudiate its parenthood in 'Talks to Teachers', and he is likely to rejoice that it has sent at any rate one reader back to re-read James's famous manual of pedagogy.

It is no part of the author's purpose to cover the wide and fascinating field of musical psychology: there is nothing about laboratory investigations, nothing about listeners' reactions and not enough about imagination, but there is a certain amount of logic which is useful as an aid to clear thinking. It is written in untechnical terminology, partly because it was better so for the Teachers' Training Courses, for which the original lectures were devised, and partly because the more formal treatise that the author had prepared for the press was destroyed, together with his library, in the blitz. The aim of the book and its scope, then, are modest, but the ground that it professes to cover it traverses with easy allusion, clear exposition and apt illustration. Here and there are

points for query, demur or enthusiastic hear-hears. Thus in the matter of attention, which admits only one thing at a time to the focus, the music student might ask how many contrapuntal parts should he be able really to hear at a time. The critic might protest that he can appreciate and judge works in a style that he detests—is it good of its kind? The philosopher will rejoice to see pilloried at last the blasphemous phrase "the will to believe".

F. H.

Music in the Five Towns, 1840-1914: a Study of the Social Influence of Music in an Industrial District. By R. Nettel. pp. 120. (Oxford University Press, 1944.) 8s. 6d.

This book confers credit on the community with which it is concerned, on the humane interests of the adult education movement, a movement, incidentally, which was pioneered in the Five Towns, and on the author himself. The student of English democracy will learn much from Mr. Nettel's thesis; he will also be confused by the particular *modus vivendi* described. There are illustrated a peculiar cultural alliance between capital and labour, a strange and not always appreciated permeation of patronage, a vigorous parochial sectarian domination in religious belief, an artistic belligerency improbable in any other community and withal high musical integrity. The social historian would normally miss the significance of the epochal performances, given by North Staffordshire choirs, of 'The Death of Minnehaha', 'Gerontius' and 'A Mass of Life', but for the singers these events produced a sense of intellectual aristocracy which still persists. Moreover a particular reciprocity developed between composer and performer. The circumstances attending the production of 'Gerontius' are reminiscent of Handelian viscidissime, and Mr. Nettel underlines Elgar's strong provincial sympathies, giving short shrift at the same time to unsympathetic metropolitan critics.

Independence is the keystone of Arnold Bennett's epic fabric, and Bennett lovers should keep 'Music in the Five Towns' on the same shelf with 'The Old Wives' Tale'. The Garners and Whewalls, and other figures in the history of Potteries music—potters and miners—illumine the progress of music by their democratization thereof. Not, however, by borrowing the specious methods of suburban uplifters, but by a mordant technique in disposing of apparent difficulties. Thus, before the universities were properly awake, Morley and Weelkes attracted the Hanley Glee and Madrigal Society and when an invitation to sing Gaul's 'Israel in the Wilderness' at the Crystal Palace was issued the heroic Garner preferred to stay at home to practise 'Israel in Egypt'. The fierceness of industrial anarchy was forty years ago sublimated in gargantuan feats at Festival and Eisteddfod. The principle abstractly may be disapproved, but the practice was of the general pattern of life: competition in industry, in education, in athletics, in religious fervour and accordingly in music. People who heard the choirs of Garner, Whewall and Heap still speak of them with awe, and the reputation then achieved has hindered later adventure. The secret of success—and contemporary choirmasters might take the hint—was assiduity in rehearsal: four practices a week—and corsets, in a state of emergency, forbidden.

That the Five Towns had no orchestral record comparable to that achieved in choral music is due to economics, orchestral instruments and tuition being inaccessible to the industrially depressed, and to a preference, engendered by religious associations, for the greater sense of fellowship incident on singing together. Mr. Nettel gets his perspective wrong in this respect, and surprisingly he makes no mention of the influence of brass-band music. His researches are presented in attractive dress and if one is constrained to regret some adjectival overtones—i.e. "pseudo-moral-maudlin"—it is because the style in general is conspicuously clear-cut.

The musical and the economic historian will benefit from Mr. Nettel's point of view and his study of the cultural development of an industrial microcosm will stimulate the faith of the imaginative educator.

P. M. Y.

Música negra: estudo do folclore Tonga. By Belo Marques. pp. 121. (Agência Geral das Colónias, Lisbon, 1943.)

The Portuguese Agência Geral, which plays the part of an information and publicity bureau for the colonies, has produced in recent years a very large variety of volumes, many extremely well presented and mainly of historical or biographical interest. Last year it broke rather new ground with this short study of the music of the Tonga peoples. These tribes are among the most imaginative of southern Mozambique; their forefathers were subject to the tyranny of Gungunhana's Zuluized Vatavas until his defeat at the hands of Mousinho in 1895, since when Portuguese authority has been recognized with uniformity. At the present time they are the main source of contract labour for the Rand mines. Their history, their work in the Transvaal and native life form the chief themes for their songs. The author was able to find old warriors who remembered the songs and dances of the old days, and he records that on one occasion he found it advisable to stop the show when the music evoked a furious valour that seemed too real.

A strain of melancholy recalls the time of subjection to Gungunhana: "We fought,

but we were defeated", runs one song, "we were without women because the Vatas carried them off. We are a people of bachelors." Then there are jubilations because the Portuguese have come and Gungunhana's power is broken, and songs of respect and admiration for the Portuguese Republic. There is also satire: "The Portuguese loves the native. The Portuguese comes here because he is the black man's friend. . . . But the Portuguese loves money too."

Many songs deal with work in the Transvaal. One says: "The Chief wants a pound for every man who goes to the Transvaal. But he has never been. He doesn't know how much it costs to go." In the song of farewell to the natives going off to the mines, for solo voice and chorus, the people's emotion transforms the experience into art:

Solista: Vamos lá para cima
Que é grande terra e da muito pao.
Coro: A nossa terra e tao boa como as outras.
Toda a terra é boa quando da trabalho.
Solista: Vamos, vamos, adeus.
Coro: A terra lá de cima é boa
Mas a nossa tambem o é.

Solo: Let us go away there, for it is a great country and gives much bread.

Chorus: Our country is as good as the other. Every country is good when it gives a man work.

Solo: Let us go, let us go, goodbye.

Chorus: The country there is good, but so also is our own.

The customary form of the songs is in three parts; a solo which gives the theme, followed by a choral comment which is concluded by a coda. The coda has its surprises, as for example when the soloist suddenly carries the melody into new regions whilst the chorus remains fixed on the previous harmony. The chorus plays an important part; its replies to the soloist are based on a more or less intuitive sense of what the soloist is next preparing to improvise. The quarter-tone is endemic; it usually follows the tonic, and though in most cases it appears to be due to failing breath on sustained notes, the native nevertheless incorporates these elusive flattening and sharpenings into his harmonic scheme of things as a matter of routine. Some tribes, the author suggests, work on a tonic base.

Senhor Marques writes clearly of the instruments, which are well portrayed in the illustrations. The Chidequele is a form of tamboril, whose sound rises steadily in pitch from the centre to the extremes and is much favoured by virtuosi who, he says, can even form a melodic line from this thrumming. The Mbila is a kind of xylophone; there are four kinds, treble, alto, baritone, bass. This group is called a Timbila, and natives will travel a hundred miles to take part in such orchestral combinations on holidays. There are old men's bands in which the Ntende alone is used; this is an indigenous harp, shaped like a half-stretched bow and has a metal wire. Boys, on the other hand, delight to show their dexterity on the Tchiveco, a cane pipe tuned to the required pitch by letting water in drop by drop, the pipe being then cut to the requisite length. The spectator is exhilarated by the amazing facility with which each boy adds his one note to the melody in the making, but the author confesses that the result is not soothed as is the melancholy effect of the Ntende combinations.

The author notes with mild asperity the bad influence of the music (? hymn-tunes) brought by American missionaries; he also cautions the reader against the *Ersatz* compositions got up for official occasions. Reading between the lines, I think he refers to the music-making of the native Batuques of which frequent performances were given in the Exhibition of the Portuguese World at Lisbon, 1940, a well-planned exhibition, which deserved better luck than European conditions allowed at that time. He laments the rigid conventions to which Negro music in America is now confined and directs the attention of Portuguese composers to the potential material lying ready to hand within the Portuguese colonial empire.

Some of the fables he recounts have a Walt Disney atmosphere about them; the wayward, joyous kidling and the solicitous, well-meaning spider of the thousand legs would make an entertaining addition to Disney's animal world.

These Tonga tribes have a great love of music. The author saw an old chief in tears during a performance. "Why do you cry, Macavane?" he asked. "I am old, I can no longer sing." "You like to sing, then?" "When the black man sings, God reposes.", was the old man's answer.

A. L.

CORRESPONDENCE

CLEMENTI'S PIANOFORTE SONATAS

To the Editor of 'Music & Letters'

SIR,—It may be of some interest if you will allow me to add the following information to my article on this subject published in your issue of July 1943 (Vol. XXIV, No. 3) :

I have recently discovered two editions of Clementi's Sonatas of which I had no knowledge at the time of writing my essay, and of which your readers may like to have particulars to add to the catalogue compiled by me a year ago.

While acting as a scrutineer in the local Book Salvage Drive I noticed two large, rather shabby volumes of music among the piles of books and, on opening them, found they were Vols. I and III of the three-volume edition of 60 sonatas published by Holle of Wolfenbüttel. After rescuing them from being pulped I was allowed to bring them home to inspect them more thoroughly and discovered that they contain three sonatas I did not possess. I suggested to the local Council that the volumes should be offered to the University of London Music Library.

The numbering of the Holle edition is exactly the same as that of the Litolff, except that it omits the latter's No. 61, the D major Sonata of Op. 17. I learn from Paribeni that this edition was published during Clementi's lifetime.

The other edition is published by Messrs. Schott & Sons, in separate numbers, and as these are still available, I venture to append a list :

Op. No.	Key	Op. No.	Key
1 12	B \flat major	12 40	D minor
2	E \flat major	13 34	G minor
3	F major	14 47	B \flat major
4	E \flat major	15 39	C major
5 2	C major	16 14	F minor
6 24	E \flat major	17 46	B \flat major
7 34	C major	18 50	A major
8 40	G major	19	D minor
9 36	C major	20	G minor
10 24	F major	21 26	D major
11 40	B minor		

Yours faithfully,

KATHLEEN DALE.

Woking,
April 10th 1944.

M. D. CALVOCORESSI

To the Editor of 'Music & Letters'

SIR,—I much appreciate your notice of my husband in the April issue of your periodical, but I wish to protest as forcibly as I can against the idea that Ravel ever influenced Calvo in the direction of intolerance towards any composer's work. They had a deep affection and regard for one another, but would certainly have been astonished at the notion that "loyalty forbade any sort of dissent" in their opinions, which I have heard voiced in long and exuberant discussions on everything under the sun, but mainly, of course, on music.

On pp. 33-34 of his 'Musicians Gallery' Calvo tells how he was carried absolutely off his feet by Wagner and how "on returning home I could think of nothing else". This was in 1893, and it was this enthusiasm which made any career other than a musical one impossible for him. He first met Ravel in 1898, and on pp. 46-47 he shows how he and Ravel differed on many composers, Wagner included, and how in their love for Balakirev's 'Tamara' and a great deal of other Russian music they found "a first common bond". But they ceased discussing those on whom they could not agree, "having, I presume, given up one another as hopeless".

Calvo says on p. 38 that it was mainly due "to a dear friend of mine, Fred Partington, that I became acquainted with the works of Liszt. After having heard the 'Faust' and the 'Dante', I became as keen on Liszt as he was".

Please print this letter in part or in full, as you think fit, for I should think it terribly unfair and cruel if it went down that Calvo, who had such high ideals of critical honesty, did not uphold them in practice.

I think his forbears lived in Greece from the thirteenth century (when they left Italy) to 1821, when they went to France on his mother's side, his father having been born in

Greece and settling at Marseilles later. His mother was born there, her family having fled from Chios at the time of the massacres of 1821 ; and I have a most lovely icon, one of the few things they carried away with them.

Yours faithfully,

Chelsea,

March 25th 1944.

ETHEL CALVOCORESSI.

I gladly print this letter, for nothing could have been farther from my intention than to give an inaccurate account of one for whom I had the highest regard, both personally and professionally. This was the reason, indeed, why I attempted, however clumsily, to give an impression of Calvocoressi as a personality instead of erecting a cold and conventional marble monument, which is always the easiest and most obvious thing to do in an obituary article, but makes chilly reading and never suggests that one had any real admiration for the person concerned. But no man can hope to produce such a portrait without getting some of the details wrong, and one must be prepared to be corrected by those who are in a position to know better.

E. B.

GROVE

To the Editor of 'Music & Letters'

SIR,—In July 1939 I contributed an article to 'Music & Letters', on 'Unknown Birthdays of Some Georgian Musicians', and I am glad to see that this new information has been incorporated in the new 4th edition of Grove's 'Dictionary of Music'. There is, however, one exception, and this is in the year of birth of Andrew Ashe.

As I pointed out, the musician himself stated in his letter to Sainsbury, the editor of the old 'Dictionary of Musicians' (1824) that he was born "about the year 1759". This was followed by the old editions of Grove. Fétis gave "1759", but Baptie, 'Musical Biography' (1883) said "1756", a date which seems to have influenced Brown, 'Biographical Dictionary of Musicians' (1886) and Brown and Stratton, 'British Musical Biography' (1897), who said "1758 (1756?)".

The new Grove posits a fresh date "c. 1757" and I take the liberty to inquire, through you, the authority for this latest date.

It is of some importance to me (see my youthful 'Memoirs of the Royal Artillery Band', 1904, p. 39) because Ashe received music lessons from "the Master of the [Royal] Artillery Band" at Woolwich between the ages of nine and twelve, and the varying years of birth which have been inflicted on us, without authority, obviously shift his pupilage, which I am anxious to determine, from 1765-68 to 1768-71.

Yours faithfully,

HENRY G. FARMER.

March 17th 1944.

REVIEWERS

A. L. Ann Livermore

F. H. Frank Howes

P. M. Y. Dr. Percy M. Young

Reviews of the following books have been unavoidably held over :

Hinrichsen's Year Book, 1944: Music of Our Time. Edited by Ralph Hill and Max Hinrichsen. pp. 308. (Hinrichsen, London, 1944.)

Introduction to Counterpoint. By R. O. Morris. pp. 55. (Oxford University Press, 1944.) 4s.

Introduction to the Study of Musical Scales. By Alain Daniélou. pp. 279. (India Society, London, 1944.)

Our Marching Civilization: in Introduction to the Study of Music and Society. By Warren Dwight Allen. pp. 112. (Stanford University Press, Stanford, California; Milford, London, 1943.) 15s. 6d.

Sa'adhyā Goan on the Influence of Music. By Henry George Farmer. pp. 109. (Probsathain, London, 1943.) 21s.

Trends in Musical Taste. By John H. Mueller and Kate Hevner. (Indiana University Publications: Humanities Series No. 8.) pp. 112. (Indiana University, Bloomington, 1942.) \$1.00.

Wagner and his First Elisabeth. By Hans Jachmann. pp. 64, pl. 8. (Novello, London, 1944.) 7s. 6d.

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